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Black students' perceptions of independent schools : a comparison of scores on the learning atmosphere attitude scale with selected school and student characteristics.

Cary Edward Bell

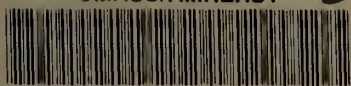
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BLACK STUDENTS' PERCEPTIONS OF INDEPENDENT SCHOOLS:
A COMPARISON OF SCORES ON
THE LEARNING ATMOSPHERE ATTITUDE SCALE
WITH SELECTED SCHOOL AND STUDENT CHARACTERISTICS

A Dissertation Presented

By

Cary Edward Bell

Submitted to the Graduate School of the
University of Massachusetts in
partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

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BLACK STUDENTS' PERCEPTIONS OF INDEPENDENT SCHOOLS:

A COMPARISON OF SCORES ON

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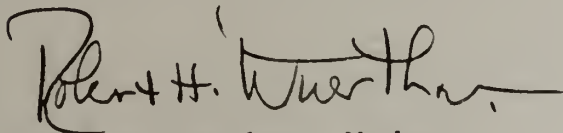
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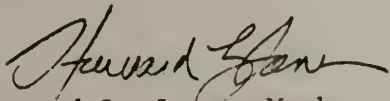
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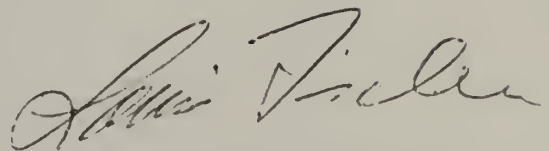
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JUNE 1975

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love and loyalty during the past four years I would not have been able to complete this dissertation.

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and acknowledge the fact that their struggle and concerns have been instrumental in helping to raise my own level of racial and social consciousness.

Dedicated to my wife and children:

Anita, Christophe and Françoise

ABSTRACT

Black Students' Perceptions of Independent Schools: A Comparison of
Scores on the Learning Atmosphere Attitude Scale with Selected School
and Student Characteristics (June 1975)

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Directed by: Dr. Ray Budde

Since 1960 black enrollment in independent schools has increased from token numbers to almost 5 percent the total enrollment of these schools. Because of this new role independent schools have begun to play in the education of blacks, it was felt that it would be worthwhile, both for the schools and for the black students who would attend them in the future, to examine the nature of the independent school experience for black students.

In Chapter I of the dissertation a brief overview of the history of black students in independent schools was presented. Also included was an explanation of the purpose of the study: to determine if there was any empirical evidence to support hypothesized relationships between black students' perceptions of their school environments and selected school and student characteristics.

After the customary review of literature and related research in Chapter II of the dissertation, the methodology of the study was

described in Chapter III. The study was limited to black students in New England independent secondary schools belonging to the National Association of Independent Schools. From the total population a stratified random sample was chosen and thirty-six schools and 396 black students eventually participated in the study. To measure student perceptions of their school environments, the Learning Atmosphere Attitude Scale was administered to the study's respondents. Scores on the scale were then compared with the selected student and school characteristics obtained through self-reports of the students and schools in the sample.

The findings of the study were presented in Chapter IV. Based on an analysis of the data, statistically significant relationships were suggested between black students' perceptions of their independent schools and the following four variables: (1) student academic success as measured by grade average, (2) student previous school contact with whites before attending independent schools, (3) school size as measured by total student enrollment, and (4) school degree of structure as measured by the amount of control exercised over the daily lives of students. No significant relationships were suggested between students' perceptions of their schools and the other variables of the study: sex, years spent in a school, home community, financial aid status, and affiliation with the A Better Chance program of students; nor type of school, black enrollment percentages, and presence of black adults in or near schools.

The conclusions of the study were presented in Chapter V and included among others the following:

(1) Black students are relatively positive in their perceptions of their independent schools. They react most favorably to the physical facilities and curriculum of the schools and have the greatest reservations about the extra-curricular programs of the schools.

(2) Black students attend independent schools mainly for academic reasons and tend to perceive the schools positively if they feel they are achieving a degree of academic success.

(3) With the possible exception of the very small schools and the highly structured schools, black students can have a positive experience in all the different types of independent schools examined in the study. Also, independent schools can create a positive experience for a broad range of black students--diverse as to sex, economic background, geographical location of home community, and number of years to be spent in a particular school.

(4) Blacks who have had no previous school experience with whites may find it difficult to adjust to the environment of independent schools; and, therefore, schools may find it helpful to create programs and experiences to aid in the transition from public to independent schools.

(5) Finally, independent schools need to devote more serious attention and efforts to the integration of their faculties.

CHAPTER I

NATURE AND SCOPE OF THE PROBLEM

During the past decade there has been a significant increase in the numbers of black students attending independent schools. Before 1960 the vast majority of independent schools had never enrolled black students. Those that had were either a small number of the financially secure and socially prestigious schools in the Northeast--schools such as Exeter and Andover--a few of the small number of "opportunity" schools founded in the late nineteenth century--the Northfield Schools, for example--or progressive schools such as Putney founded in the late thirties and forties. Even in these schools, enrollment of blacks before 1960 rarely numbered more than one or two students per year. In the majority of cases these few token students were drawn, socially if not economically, from the black middle class.

With the popularity of the Civil Rights Movement in the early years of the sixties, independent schools which had never enrolled black students began to seek minority candidates for admission. Those schools that had previously enrolled a few black students attempted to increase their numbers on campus. In 1966-1967, when the first survey of minority enrollment in independent schools was taken by the National Association of Independent Schools (NAIS), there were 3,720 black students in 462 of the association's 780 schools. During the academic year 1969-1970 NAIS conducted a second minority survey, and 595 schools reported a total black enrollment of 7,617. This represented an increase of 105 percent over 1966-1967. The latest NAIS minority student

survey was conducted in 1971-1972. At that time 621 out of a total of 730 schools reported black enrollment. The total number of black students was 9,627, representing a 26.3 percent increase over 1969-1970 and a 158 percent increase over 1966-1967. In this latest survey, black enrollment represented 4.1 percent of the total student enrollment (234,836) in the reporting schools.¹

As they became more involved in the education of blacks as well as whites, independent schools encountered difficulties for which many of them were unprepared. Some schools are now seeking advice as to how they can create a more positive environment for black students. Many of the problems the schools are facing result in part from inadequate preparation for the enrollment of black students. In the early sixties it was generally assumed, perhaps naively, that diversity in student bodies could be increased without necessitating changes in the traditional values and structures of independent schools. To a great extent, schools were unprepared for black students because the decision to integrate often received impetus from sources external to the individual school communities.

In reacting to external pressures, schools leaped on the integration bandwagon without any long-range planning as to how they or the black students enrolled would be affected. In very few cases were

¹See National Association of Independent Schools, Minority Group Survey 1966-67 (Boston: National Association of Independent Schools, 1966); National Association of Independent Schools, Minority Group Survey 1969-70 (Boston: National Association of Independent Schools, 1970); and National Association of Independent Schools, Minority Group Survey 1971-72 (Boston: National Association of Independent Schools, 1972).

there any black adults involved in making the decisions to enroll black students. Except in very rare instances, schools viewed integration as something to be accomplished at the student level only and gave little thought to integrating their boards of trustees, administrations, and faculties as well. An example of what constituted integration for most independent schools is seen in the following statement of David Mallery, an expert in the area of American independent education: "Schools that are fully [italics mine] integrated since their establishment, like the Putney School, . . . has had six to ten Negro students in a student body of 180 for the last ten years."²

The initial impetus to increasing black enrollment in independent schools came from the 1954 Supreme Court decision in *Brown versus Topeka, Kansas, Board of Education* which outlawed de jure segregation in public schools. Subsequent court pronouncements, as well as congressional legislation, made it clear that this landmark decision applied not only to public schools, but also to private institutions which served a public function. This federal policy received more clout in a July 1970 Internal Revenue decision revoking the tax exempt status of private schools continuing to practice racial discrimination in admissions.³

²David Mallery, Negro Students in Independent Schools (Boston: National Association of Independent Schools, 1963); p. 21.

³For a detailed discussion of this matter see Donald Erickson, ed., Public Controls for Nonpublic Schools (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969).

With the exception of a few of the remaining proprietary schools in the country and the new segregationist academies formed in the South in the sixties to circumvent integrated public schools; these court and congressional decisions were sufficient to make independent schools subscribe, in theory if not in practice, to an open enrollment policy. In October 1968 NAIS, in fact, made as one of the few requirements for membership in the association subscription to an open enrollment policy. As reported in the NAIS 1971-72 minority group survey, 100 percent of the 730 schools responding had such an open enrollment policy. At that time the NAIS membership numbered 762 schools. Of the schools reporting such a policy, 6 percent (44 schools), however, had never actually enrolled a black student. Another 65 schools had no black students that year, although they had previously enrolled black students.⁴ Human nature being what it is, schools that have black or other minority students are usually eager to make this fact known. It is therefore safe to assume that the 32 schools which did not complete the survey questionnaire declined to do so because they had no black students. If this assumption is accepted, then as late as 1972 almost one-fifth (18.5 percent) of NAIS schools were not actively involved in the education of blacks.

A second impetus to the enrollment of black students in independent schools resulted from the spirit of the Civil Rights Movement that attained a certain degree of popularity in the country during the

⁴National Association of Independent Schools, Minority Group Survey 1971-72, p. 1.

sixties. As educators of the children of the establishment, independent schools throughout most of their history had been conservative in orientation. They did include among their clientele, however, upper and upper middle class families who proscribed to liberal doctrines. Many of these families, the Kennedy's and Rockefeller's are notable examples, were national government and civic leaders. Many congressmen and senators who publicly favored civil rights' legislation also enrolled their children in independent schools. As it became increasingly more difficult for these leaders to separate their public pronouncements on integration from the private conduct of their lives, they began to urge those independent schools with which they were associated to integrate their student bodies.

The independent schools felt further compelled to enroll black students as one means of disassociating themselves from the new segregationist academies springing up all over the South. As the general public, with little specific knowledge of these institutions, tended to lump all private schools into one bag; the negative media coverage given the new southern academies was spilling over to the older established schools as well.

A third and very substantial boost to black student enrollment in independent schools came in the wake of two traumatic events that shook American society in the late sixties: the violent upheavals that occurred in many of the nation's largest cities; and the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., in 1968. Whether reacting out of fear or moral outrage, these events forced many Americans to

realize that the country was headed for disaster unless some solution could be found to its racial problems.

Following a pattern that had been prevalent throughout American history in times of stress, the country turned to its schools as the societal institutions most capable of affecting change. It was felt that education could quickly erase the effects of centuries of racial discrimination and limited opportunities. Throughout the country thousands of compensatory programs, representing a variety of approaches, were established to provide the education it was hoped would bring blacks and other minorities into the mainstream of American life. Public and private funds became more readily available for these programs. Independent schools, as did other educational institutions, took advantage of this new public mood and financial support to increase, or to commence, black student enrollment. Some schools, in fact, suffering financially from a decline in applications that began to occur at about this same time, saw an economic advantage to enrolling black students. By admitting blacks whose families could pay the tuition charges, as well as others who could receive financial support from the government or foundations, schools could take moral credit for responding to a national crisis and fill their "slots" in the bargain. This financial advantage, however, was rarely avowed when schools moralized on their contributions to the education of blacks.

The Independent Schools Talent Search--A Better Chance Program (ABC) is the one organization that has perhaps done the most to increase the enrollment of black and other minority students in

independent schools. ABC is a private, non-profit educational organization which places talented students from disadvantaged backgrounds into private college preparatory boarding schools and residential public school programs. ABC was established in 1963 as an outgrowth of the Independent School Program of the National Scholarship Service and Fund for Negro Students (NSSFNS). Although mainly an agency referring black students to college, between 1950 and 1962 NSSFNS operated a secondary school program which placed an average of twenty students per year in independent boarding schools. When NSSFNS decided to abandon its secondary school program in 1963, it encouraged interested independent schools to continue a similar program. Thirty schools accepted the challenge. With financial support from the Merrill Trust, the Rockefeller Foundation, and dues collected from member schools, ABC was incorporated and recognized by the Commonwealth of Massachusetts as a non-profit charitable trust in early 1964. The founding purpose of the organization was to identify students and refer them to member schools and also to provide a summer program to serve as a transition from public to boarding schools. In the fall of 1964, the first group of ABC students, fifty-nine in number, entered independent boarding schools. The participating schools provided full scholarship aid to this first group of students. While most of these students were black, the program also included whites, Puerto Ricans, and American Indians.⁵

⁵The organization which today is known as A Better Chance, Inc., was originally named the Independent Schools Talent Search Program (ISTSP)--A Better Chance (ABC). This double nomenclature was used to

Since 1964 the number of independent boarding schools participating in the program has increased to approximately 120. As of September 1972, 3,195 students had participated in the program. With the exception of its initial year of operation, ABC has not only referred students to its member schools but has also provided financial support for many of these students. ABC and its member schools have worked out agreements by which ABC usually provides full financial support for one of every three students placed in a school. Monies for these grants have been received from both public and private sources. The Federal Office of Economic Opportunity has provided full funding for hundreds of ABC students. Other government agencies supporting ABC students have included Upward Bound, the New York and Jersey City Model Cities Programs, the New Jersey Bureau of Children's Services, the Connecticut and Philadelphia Child Welfare Departments, and the Bureau of Indian Affairs. In addition, over the years more than 200 corporations and foundations have made donations to ABC totaling in the millions of dollars.⁶

distinguish between the two components of the program: ISTSP identified and referred students to member schools; ABC was the summer transitional program. In 1966 the National Public School ABC Program was established. Administred independently, it was concerned with setting up housing and placing "disadvantaged" students in public high schools. In 1972 ISTSP and the National Public School ABC Program merged to form A Better Chance, Inc. The public school program is not a concern of this research; therefore, when the initials ABC are used it is in reference to the independent school program. A history of the ABC program is included in George Perry, A Better Chance: Evaluation of Student Attitudes and Academic Performance 1964-1972 (Boston: A Better Chance, Inc., 1973).

⁶Ibid., p. 6.

The ABC program has had a profound effect on independent schools; not only by increasing the numbers of black and other minority students enrolled, but also in the types of students placed in the schools. ABC has traditionally required that the students it funded come from poverty backgrounds. This was one of the stipulations that accompanied government grants. It was also a part of ABC's philosophy to help only those students who would probably not reach college without radical outside intervention. Most independent schools had previously had little or no experience with students, whether black or white, from this type of social and economic background. It was often the presence of ABC students on campus which forced many independent schools to reexamine some of their long held educational practices and theories, as well as their sacrosanct and cherished traditions.

When the first black students arrived on independent school campuses in the late fifties and early sixties, it was the assumption of the schools that these pioneering students would quickly, if not easily, adjust to the established patterns of life and study. Little thought was given to whether the experience would prove to be relevant to the incoming black students. It was assumed that after an initial period of adjustment, the black students would become indistinguishable-- except for skin color, and even this issue could be avoided if the carefully selected first student were light-skinned--from the typical middle and upper class white students. In cases where any planning at all was done for integration, it amounted to little more than securing the approval of the trustees and subsequent notification of teachers

and parents that a black student would be arriving on campus. In depicting the situation as he saw it at most schools, the Reverend Canon John T. Walker, one of the first black trustees of an independent school, stated:

The assumption was made that all students are the same; therefore, we can continue with the same policy we have been following. . . . Every relationship and every course was designed to turn the black student into a white-thinking and white-behaving individual. At root, the presupposition was that the student came to be enriched, but could in no way enrich the life of the school.⁷

In many schools, and this was particularly true of the boarding schools located in rural and isolated regions of the country, faculty, staff, and students had often had no previous personal contact with blacks. As a consequence there was a great deal of curiosity that surrounded the arrival of the first black on campus. Blacks often suffered humiliating experiences as a result of this curiosity. To mention only a few examples of such attitudes: black students reported that they were constantly being scrutinized to see how they handled personal grooming, the care of their hair being of particular interest; in isolated areas, where townspeople had never before seen blacks in person, students were subjected to curious stares and pointed fingers whenever they ventured into town.

School social events, where it had been the traditional custom to randomly assign dates from visiting schools, posed a touchy problem

⁷John T. Walker, "The Role of the Black Trustee," Independent School Bulletin 30 (December 1970):19.

for many administrators. If the visiting school had no black students, which was often the case, social chairmen would anxiously call before the planned event to find out if there were a white student willing to be assigned a black date. Although probably not a typical way of handling this issue, it is a fact that one independent school "admitted its first Negro boys in 1952 under the proviso that they not go to the dances."⁸

In the classroom, blacks were usually expected to be the spokesmen for their race in any and all discussions of civil rights issues. In boarding schools, the housing of black students was another problem. With whom would the black student room? If there were more than one black on campus, should they be roommates or would it be more beneficial to spread them around the campus? If black students were to be assigned white roommates, would it be necessary to first receive white parental approval? The manner in which many schools answered these and other similar questions provoked some of the bitter reactions of black students which were to occur in the second half of the sixties.

When enrolling black students for the first time, great care was taken by admissions offices to find the ideal or "super" black. These students usually came, socially if not economically, from the black middle class and as such could fit in more easily with the upper class orientation of most of the schools. School heads justified this approach as one way of assuring that there would be no adverse reactions

⁸Charles Merrill, "Negroes in the Private Schools," Atlantic Monthly, July 1967, p. 37.

to the enrollment of blacks. These heads thought that only by enrolling extraordinary black students would they be able to offset the stereotyped attitudes they knew their constituents, and in many cases their staffs, held of blacks in America. The first black students were to be of such high caliber that opposition to further integration would be stifled, or at least muted. In the vast majority of cases, the first black students in these schools did live up to the reverse stereotypes planned for them. They achieved brilliant academic records, were star athletes, leaders in school extra-curricular activities, and went on from their independent schools to some of the most prestigious universities in the country. Janice Porter, a staff member of NSSFNS during the years it operated a secondary school program, had the task of finding these exceptional students for the forty-six schools using the service.

It's nice if a Negro student is a little more than average in the school in his academic competence. But he shouldn't always have to be the prize person. In some schools I've had the impression that there's a real disappointment if the Negro student doesn't turn out to be sensational as a scholar, mixer, athletic star--the whole works.⁹

The effect of some of these first black students on their schools was so pervasive that it often still lingers even today. It is not unusual to hear older teachers in independent schools compare their present black students with their "super" predecessors. As the new students find it impossible, or even undesirable, to live up to the

⁹Mallery, Negro Students in Independent Schools, p. 17.

reputations of those who preceded them, some schools have tended to place the blame on the students, rather than on their own unrealistic expectations.

Beginning in the second half of the sixties, independent schools began to witness a change in the mood of their black students. This change was closely related to the developing focus of the civil rights movement in the country away from integration for the sake of integration to the demands of blacks for control of the economic and political institutions governing their lives. Under the general rubric of "black power," many blacks, especially the young, began to show a strong interest in their cultural heritage. Black leaders spoke out and received strong support for the retention of unique black life styles as a valuable alternative to American white middle class values. As the majority of independent schools were staunch supporters of the American middle class ethic, black students in these schools who espoused the new mood of the black community found themselves in direct opposition to their teachers and school administrators.

Simultaneous with the growth of the black power movement was the enrollment of more ABC and other poor black students in the independent schools. As these students generally came from black communities which were economically the most removed from the mainstream of American life, and where the black power movement received its strongest support, more fuel was added to the conflict building between independent schools and their black students. These forces, together with the purely numerical increase of black students on individual campuses,

lessened some of the isolation felt by blacks in earlier years. They also provided the strength necessary for students to request, or in some cases demand, changes in the traditional structures and values of independent schools.

Alan Pifer, President of the Carnegie Corporation, spoke decisively on this issue in a speech delivered in 1973. Although his particular area of concern was the education of blacks in white colleges, his comments summarize to a great extent changes occurring at that time in many independent schools as well.

As the numbers of blacks . . . began to mount in the late 1960's, it became apparent that there were severe problems of adjustment involved on both sides. The prevailing expectation of white administrators and faculty was that the new black students would simply conform to the mores, standards and outlook of the majority white culture on campus, much as the few middle-class black students had done in the past. This, however, was not to be the case. The new students, fresh from the ghettos, felt strange, lonely, unwanted, and fearful in what they saw as an alien and even hostile white world. They withdrew from social contact with whites and sought only the company of other blacks. . . . On the white side, some students unquestionably were hostile to blacks and showed it, but others simply felt rather hurt and puzzled by the black attitude, as did administrators and faculty. Only slowly did it begin to dawn on whites that their assumption that blacks should and would conform automatically to the majority culture of the campus required reexamination.¹⁰

¹⁰Alan Pifer, The Higher Education of Blacks in the United States (New York: Carnegie Corporation of New York, 1973), p. 42. This is a reprint of The Alfred and Winifred Hoernlé Memorial Lecture for 1973, delivered August 1, 1973, in Johannesburg, South Africa, under the auspices of the South African Institute of Race Relations.

As one means of providing the organizational structure to articulate these new concerns, black students on independent school campuses where their numbers permit have formed Afro-American Societies. For the most part these societies have been modeled after similar organizations formed by black students at the university level. Although the effectiveness of these societies varies from school to school, in general they attempt to serve two different purposes: (1) to provide an environment in which blacks can help one another adjust socially and academically to a school, and which allows them to maintain and nurture their cultural heritage and distinct life styles; and (2) to create a forum which can educate the total school community in the contributions of blacks to American society, and which explains the needs and aspirations of the present generation of blacks. The first purpose is usually achieved by obtaining a place on campus where blacks can freely come together to discuss their concerns, hold social events, and set up tutorial programs to help one another academically. The second purpose is promoted by sponsoring events such as outside speakers, dramatic productions, and art festivals to which the entire school community is invited.

In attempting to make the independent school experience more relevant for them, black students through their Afro-American societies have articulated several concerns. Foremost among these is the pervasive lack of black adults in the vast majority of independent schools. In 1972, there were only 296 black teachers employed in NAIS schools. This represented only 1.2 percent of the 25,000 teachers employed by these

schools. Most of the black teachers are found in the day schools located in or near large urban centers, leaving very few in the boarding schools. The survey further reported that only 24 out of 730 responding schools had minority (no breakdown by specific minority group) administrators.¹¹

Many black students, particularly those who before attending independent schools have had very little previous personal experience with whites, find it difficult to relate to many of their white teachers.

Many white teachers in turn admit to experiencing difficulty in relating to their black students. Since many of the teachers are products themselves of independent schools and private colleges, it is very possible that they have never encountered blacks in an educational setting before arriving in their classrooms. Otto Kraushaar in his study of nonpublic schools explained some of the uneasiness of white teachers in dealing with black students, particularly black students from poverty backgrounds:

Little enough is known by anyone, in school, college, or society at large, let alone by private school teachers used to dealing with advantaged children, about how best to help deprived youth to catch up. Such knowledge is not quickly or easily gained, as many independent school teachers are fully aware. . . . There is, as a consequence, an understandable hesitation to meet the challenge of dealing effectively with boys and girls

¹¹ National Association of Independent Schools, Minority Group Survey 1971-72, p. 4.

from impoverished rural and ghetto back-
grounds--children so markedly different
from the school's traditional type.¹²

A few independent school teachers even say they are unable to communicate effectively with black students at the most basic level, due to their inability to comprehend the distinctive black English dialect spoken by some black Americans. Regardless of its causes, this lack of communication sets up barriers to counseling and teacher-student relationships. As most independent schools pride themselves on the individual attention given their students, blacks in schools without black adults often do not receive what is stated as one of the major benefits of the independent school experience.

In response to this concern of black students, schools have begun a timid effort to recruit black teachers. Since 1972, NAIS has sponsored a Minority Teacher Recruitment Program (MTRP) which identifies qualified minority teachers and recommends them to its member schools. Although the program has been successful in identifying a large number of teachers, it has been less successful in actual placements. The dearth of teaching positions in the country in general, salary schedules below public school averages, and peculiarities in the hiring practices of independent schools may account for some of the lack of success of the MTRP. Its director, Mr. William Dandridge, also strongly feels that in many independent schools the commitment to hire minority personnel is more a vocal than an active one.

¹²Otto F. Kraushaar, American Nonpublic Schools: Patterns of Diversity (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1972), p. 251.

Some schools who have not hired full-time black staff members have recruited from neighboring universities part-time advisors for their black students. Minority group members on the ABC staff also periodically visit schools which enroll its students to provide short range counseling services.

Another major concern of black students has been in the area of the independent school curriculum. Blacks have attempted to have their cultural experience included in the curriculum, either in the form of separate black studies courses, or by integration into the normal curriculum of the schools. Because of the absence of black teachers, these efforts have not been as successful in independent schools as on college campuses.

In the areas of social life and school regulations blacks have also pressed for changes. The independent schools have traditionally been very competitive in their relationships with one another, nurturing among students a strong allegiance to a particular school and a feeling of superiority over other schools. In this framework there was very little cooperation between schools. Because of their small number in any one particular school, blacks from several schools in a region have attempted to create alliances among themselves. Some schools have been disturbed to find that their black students seem to give higher priority to their allegiance with blacks in other schools than to their school itself. An insignificant example of this phenomenon, which nevertheless illustrates the point, is seen in blacks from rival schools congregating together during a big game rather than

remaining in each school's assigned cheering section. In many schools blacks have had to obtain special "dispensations" to participate in activities with blacks at other schools or universities. This, in turn, has caused a cry of reverse discrimination by white students in these schools. In several instances schools have had to counteract these charges by relaxing such regulations for all students.

In schools which traditionally placed a great deal of emphasis on the social mores of upper class society, blacks from poverty backgrounds have protested the irrelevance, if not the ludicrousness, of such practices. Also, many blacks from urban areas have had to handle a lot of personal freedom before coming to independent schools. Emotionally, these students are usually more mature than their white peers, and as a consequence, find some of the regulations of independent schools unnecessarily restrictive.

Many black students in independent schools also feel very intensely the academic pressure of the environment. Those students who received poor preparation in their previous schooling become particularly distraught. This pressure is often increased by a strong fear of failure on the part of some black students, coupled with the feeling that whites in the community anticipate their failure. Blacks with these fears often restrict their activities to the Afro-American society, not just for the natural companionship it provides, but also as a security blanket to avoid threatening contacts with the total school environment. Within the society there is often strong pressure to conform to certain norms which can inhibit the development and expression of each student's

individuality. As a result many black students totally remove themselves from all but the required activities of the school. This pattern is internally reinforcing, and even when a student has achieved the confidence necessary to expand his scope of activities, previously developed ways of behaving make it difficult to do so. The black student who decides not to be a part of the Afro-American group quite often has a very rough time in his precarious search for a place in the school.

The question of financial aid is also a touchy issue on many independent school campuses. Blacks on full scholarship find it difficult living in a world of general affluence. For lack of money they are often excluded from activities such as ski trips, outings to the theater, and, if in boarding schools, weekends away from campus. The other aspect of the financial issue is the insistence in many schools to treat all black students as economically deprived, whether they actually are or not. This is a misconception that the schools, for whatever the reason, often allow to be perpetuated although an NAIS survey found that 55 percent of all blacks in its member schools received no financial aid.¹³

The reactions of the schools to some of the concerns of their black students have naturally varied from complete support to outright resistance. On the supportive side, some schools have tried to increase their black enrollment, employ black staff members, make the

¹³National Association of Independent Schools, Minority Group Survey 1971-72, p. 4.

black experience an integral part of the curriculum, and provide counseling to meet the personal needs of black students. Negative reactions have run the gamut from schools accusing black students of being separatists, racists, and ungrateful; to slowly retreating from whatever commitment they had to educate blacks as well as whites.

The one area in which there is substantial agreement on the effectiveness of independent schools in working with black students is the success they have had in placing these students in competitive colleges. Specific data supporting this success will be presented in Chapter II.

At the present time independent schools are at a very crucial point in their history. Dwindling enrollments, economic pressures caused by inflation and recession, new theories in education; all these conditions are forcing many of the schools to reevaluate their future priorities. As the number of blacks being educated in these schools is increasing, it seemed appropriate at this time of reevaluation to examine the nature of the black experience in independent schools.

Much of the information presently available relating to the experience of blacks in independent schools has been acquired rather haphazardly. Very little systematic research has been done in this area. To prepare for the future, it would seem appropriate for schools to analyze as closely as possible the present state of their relationships with black students. Some questions that need to be examined are the following: What are the attitudes of black students towards

the independent schools they attend? Do certain schools elicit more positive reactions from black students than others? If so, what is it about these schools that might account for the positive reactions? Do certain groups of black students view their independent school experience more positively than other black students? If so, what are the characteristics of these students that might account for differences in attitude towards a particular school? If some tentative answers to these questions could be suggested, schools could then begin, with more confidence than now, a restructuring of their future programs and priorities. It is the purpose of this study to explore in specific terms some answers to the aforementioned questions.

Statement of the Problem

Through conversations over the past five years with teachers and students in a wide variety of independent schools and after a review of the literature on the subject, this investigator has sensed that there may be relationships between black students' perceptions of their independent schools and certain demographic and structural characteristics of the schools. Another set of relationships may exist between individual student characteristics and their perceptions of independent schools. The specific purpose of this investigation is to see if there is any empirical evidence supporting these relationships, and if so, to what extent are they statistically significant.

The student characteristics to be examined for possible relationships between them and perceptions of independent school environments are:

1. The sex of a student
2. The length of time a student has spent in a particular independent school
3. The academic performance of a student as measured by his grade average
4. The type (urban, suburban, rural) and geographic location of a student's home community
5. The degree of integration or segregation experienced by a student in his schooling before attending an independent school
6. The economic background of a student as measured by the amount of his independent schooling financed by his parents or guardians
7. Whether the student is a participant or not in the ABC program

As the nomenclature they have chosen suggests, independent schools pride themselves on their uniqueness and independence. Although there is a great deal of variety in philosophy and program across independent schools, there are a few basic differences which can be used to group these schools into categories. In this investigation five of these differences will be examined to see what, if any, relationships exist between them and black students' perceptions of the school environments:

1. The type of school (boarding, day, single sex, coeducational)
2. The size of a school as measured by total student enrollment
3. The percentage of black enrollment in a school

4. The presence of black adults in or within close proximity of a school
5. The level of structure in a school as measured by the degree to which it regulates the academic programs and daily lives of its students

These five statements about schools, together with the seven statements about student characteristics, are made more precise and become the hypotheses of the study as discussed in Chapter III.

Description of Terms

The schools examined in this study belong to that group of educational institutions calling themselves "independent schools." These are the schools the general public usually has in mind when it speaks of private, as distinct from parochial or public, schools. "Private" school people, however, prefer to call their institutions independent schools because historically in America the word "private" has taken on connotations such as "elitist," "undemocratic," and "un-American." Also, these schools strongly feel that they perform a public function and thus the term "independent" is more descriptive of them than "private." In the composition of their student bodies, some independent schools are, in fact, more representative of American society at large than are many public schools located in fancy suburban communities or in ghetto urban communities.

Independent schools differ from the majority of parochial schools by usually being non-sectarian and unaffiliated. Independent schools

are usually governed by autonomous and self-perpetuating boards of trustees whereas the parochial schools are normally governed by a church or denominational body. Some denominational schools, however, think of themselves primarily as independent and secondarily as denominational. These schools, although they adhere to the tenets of a specific denomination, attract many students from outside the denomination and are governed by autonomous boards of trustees rather than by a council of the denomination. This is generally the case with the Quaker, Episcopalian, Presbyterian, and the few Roman Catholic schools which belong to NAIS.

Another important difference between independent and parochial schools is in the area of curriculum. Parochial schools usually accept the curriculum of the public schools in secular subjects and complete their programs with training in the specific doctrines of the denomination. Independent schools often believe the education they offer is superior to that of the public schools, and they are more inclined to experiment with different educational theories than are the parochial schools. As a result of their denominational affiliation and control, parochial schools within a particular denomination resemble each other in many respects whereas the independent schools when viewed nationwide exhibit a great deal of heterogeneity.¹⁴

Of the approximately 3,200 independent schools in the United States,¹⁵ the number belonging to NAIS varies yearly from 750 to 800.

¹⁴Kraushaar, American Nonpublic Schools, pp. 50-56.

¹⁵Ibid., p. 54.

The schools that belong to NAIS consist of the more established and financially solvent of the independent schools. As a group they tend to have a national reputation and are often looked to as models for newer independent schools. Many of the non-NAIS independent schools, like the free schools or street academies, are so new or transitory that it would be difficult to gather information about them. Therefore, this investigation limits itself to the NAIS schools.

The investigation was further limited to NAIS schools located in the six New England states. This was done because the financial resources and time commitment of the investigator prohibited conducting research in a larger area of the country. In addition to these convenience factors, there are historical and philosophical reasons which justify limiting the study to New England schools. Historically, the independent school movement began and flourished in New England more so than in other parts of the country. Settlement and growth of other regions of the United States came at a time when the public school movement was becoming popular, making independent schools less necessary. Also, when independent schools were established in newer areas of the country, they were often founded by graduates of the New England schools and were modeled after them. Even in today's independent school world, the New England schools are considered the most prestigious and are often looked to for innovations in educational practices. The New England schools also took the lead in efforts of independent schools to integrate their student bodies.

This investigation further limited the total New England

independent school population to those students in secondary schools. It is at the secondary, rather than elementary level that black students in independent schools have been most vocal in expressing their concerns. Thus, there is a defensible rationale for limiting the investigation to this age group.

Other terms that need to be explained here are the categories of independent schools surveyed. For the purposes of this investigation, day schools are defined as those schools in which more than two-thirds of the student body do not board on campus. Conversely, boarding schools are those schools in which at least one-third of the students do board on campus. From this investigator's observations of numerous school settings, it seems that when the boarding population of a school reaches approximately one-third the total student enrollment; the school, out of a necessity to regulate the lives of boarders, develops a general character that is more similar to the all-boarding school than it is to the all-day school. Also, in most combination day-boarding schools, because of geographic location, the majority of black students are in fact boarders.

Coeducational schools are defined for the purposes of this investigation as schools in which the sex with the smaller representation numbers at least 25 percent of the total student enrollment. Schools, then, with more than 75 percent females are here defined as girls' schools. When there are more than 75 percent males, the schools are defined as boys' schools. Definition along these ratios are necessary because many independent schools have very recently decided to become

coeducational. In schools moving from single sex to coeducation, for whatever the reasons, black students are not usually among the first members of the opposite sex to be enrolled. It has been observed by this investigator that only when the opposite sex enrollment reaches approximately 25 percent is there evidence of any significant coeducation among the black student population.

Approach

The data used in this study was gathered through the administration of two questionnaires: a school and a student questionnaire. From the total population of 107 New England independent schools with a secondary department that enrolled black students, a stratified random sample of 47 schools was selected and asked to participate in the study. In each school a contact person was solicited to handle distribution and collection of the questionnaires. This person also completed the school questionnaire for his school. All black students in the participating schools were asked to complete the student questionnaire.

The school questionnaire was devised by the investigator. The first part of the questionnaire was open-ended and sought to gather purely statistical information concerning students and faculty in each school. The second part of the school questionnaire was a combination of multiple choice and open-ended questions. It sought to gather information which was to be used by the investigator to group schools into categories of high, medium, and low structure. The information from

both parts of the school questionnaires provided the data for the independent variables of the study pertaining to school characteristics.

The student questionnaire was also divided into two parts. The first part was devised by the investigator and sought to gather information for the independent variables relating to individual student characteristics. The second part of the questionnaire consisted of the Learning Atmosphere Attitude Scale (LAAS), Form A. This is a 30 item Likert Scale inventory which was designed to measure certain dimensions of a school's learning climate through student perception of the school environment. It consists of items dealing with student attitudes towards teachers, peers, curriculum, facilities, school activities and administration, as well as items which attempt to explore the way the student perceives himself in relation to school and education. The scale was developed at the School of Education of the University of Massachusetts by Ronald H. Frederickson and Francis D. Kelly. The scores of students on the LAAS were used as the dependent variable of the study.

A more detailed explanation of research procedures comprises the content of Chapter III of this paper.

Limitations of the Study

Approximately one-third the total number of black students enrolled in New England independent secondary schools participated in this study. With this amount of participation, it may be possible to generalize from the results of the study to New England independent

schools in general as well as to the total black population of these schools. Furthermore, because of previously discussed relationships that exist between the New England schools and independent schools in other parts of the United States, it may be possible to generalize from this study to independent schools nationwide. Caution must be exercised, however, in making these broad generalizations, given the subjective nature of many of these relationships.

Another limitation of the study results from the fact that a control group of white students was not used in the investigation. Because of this, it will not be possible to say categorically that the findings concerning black students are unique to them and do not also apply to white students in the same schools. In the review of the literature in Chapter II, however, previous research will be discussed which does give some support to the assumption that black and white students may differ in their perception of independent schools.

A third limitation to the study results from the method of collecting data on students and schools. In both areas data was collected through the self-reports of the students and schools involved. Although it is hoped that respondents were truthful in providing the requested information, it is not possible, given the research procedures used, to definitely ascertain the veracity of their self-reports.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF LITERATURE AND RELATED RESEARCH

There has been very little systematic research on the experience of blacks in independent schools. Two points discussed in Chapter I probably account for the paucity of information in this area: (1) black enrollment in any appreciable numbers in independent schools is a fairly recent phenomenon, having occurred only in the past ten to fifteen years; and (2) the opening of independent schools to blacks has usually been restricted to students, with very little input or participation on the part of black educators. The vast majority of blacks in America are probably unaware of the existence of independent schools and know even less about the experience of black students in these institutions. Because of the comparatively small numbers of black students enrolled, even those black educators who are aware of the existence of independent schools have not devoted the time to do much research in this area. They have preferred to direct their attention to those educational institutions affecting the masses of black students, namely the public schools and the public and private colleges.

What information that is available on the experience of blacks in independent schools consists mainly of three major studies and a series of articles. Whereas the major studies have received fairly widespread circulation, the articles have appeared from time to time in either the Independent School Bulletin or in alumni bulletins and school publications distributed to the constituents of a particular independent school. The three major studies were all written by

professional white researchers, reporting on their observations of blacks in many independent schools. The articles, however, are mainly autobiographical accounts by blacks of their personal experiences within particular schools.

This chapter will first discuss in some detail the three major studies and then summarize the content of the personal articles.

Major Studies of Blacks in Independent Schools

The Mallery study. David M. Mallery's study, Negro Students in Independent Schools, is interesting because of its historical perspective. It was written in 1963 when most independent schools were enrolling their first black students. The report was No. 8 in a series of studies initiated by the Committee on Educational Practices of the National Council of Independent Schools, now the National Association of Independent Schools. Mallery, formerly a teacher of English, was chairman of this committee. Since the early sixties he has been a prolific writer on topics of interest to independent schools.

Mallery's study was principally directed to independent school headmasters who had recently enrolled their first black students or who were considering opening their schools to black students. The format of the study consisted of brief case histories of certain aspects of those schools with black students in the hope that their experiences would prove helpful to schools anticipating the enrollment of blacks. Some of the areas discussed included the admission of black students, ways of justifying the enrollment of blacks to school constituents, and changes in school social relationships necessitated by the

enrollment of these students. In the light of events of the past ten years, many of Mallery's observations and proposals are remarkable in the degree of naïveté and paternalism they tend to demonstrate. This tone can probably be attributed, however, to an accurate reflection of the mood of the schools and the nation at the time, rather than to any lack of perception on the part of Mallery.

In the area of black student admission, Mallery discussed the great debate that took place in independent schools in the early sixties which centered around the issue of whether a school should actively recruit black students or wait until blacks themselves initiated the application process. At the time in question most well established independent schools were in a period of growth which allowed them to select their students from a large applicant pool. Under such propitious economical conditions, there was a peculiar tendency for schools to view any overt recruitment on their part as an admission of failure, or at least as a lessening of prestige among their competitors. Mallery used examples to indicate the folly of this attitude insofar as black applicants were concerned. It was naïve in the extreme to think that schools which throughout their history had never enrolled black students, would suddenly, without any effort on their part, find blacks flooding the schools with applications. Schools would first have to at least make it known to black communities that they were changing their policies and would now welcome applications from blacks.

Because those schools who did decide some recruitment would be necessary wished to do it as discretely as possible, Mallery suggested

using organizations such as the Urban League, the Boys Clubs of America, and even the National Park Service as contacts with the black community. Some schools also used the parents of their students to spread the word among their black acquaintances that applications from their children would be welcomed.

As pointed out in Chapter I, other schools turned to the National Scholarship Service and Fund for Negro Students (NSSFNS) as a source of black applicants. Although NSSFNS was a college advisory service for black high school students, it did in the years 1950-1962 place 275 black students in forty-six independent schools.¹

Another admissions' issue discussed by Mallery was the criteria to be used by schools in evaluating black applicants. Should the admissions' standards for black students be higher, lower, or the same as those for white students? In responding to this question most schools opted for higher standards for blacks in their initial integration efforts.

Many independent school heads have said that they tend to seek Negro students who will be above the school's average academic performance, both for the students' own sakes given the various adjustments they may be making in the new school, and for useful examples of solid intellectual achievement and ability. . . . School heads have often felt that it was important to have highly capable Negroes in the student body if only to head off the automatic I-told-you-so of the most bigoted student who looks for signs of some kind of natural

¹Mallery, Negro Students in Independent Schools, p. 11.

racial inferiority as he watches a Negro classmate struggle with some academic challenge.²

While not totally condemning this strategy, Mallery nevertheless urged schools to occasionally admit black students with less impressive credentials.

. . . take some Negro children who do not necessarily show signs of outstanding intellectual and leadership potential, who are not necessarily also cultured, sociable, musical, athletic and artistic. Let the school work with the "gambles" imaginatively, right in front of the eyes of the "most bigoted student," if he is there.³

In preparing their constituents for the enrollment of blacks, schools used a variety of approaches. In all cases recounted by Mallery, approval of the board of trustees was a necessary first step. After securing this approval, the actions of schools ran the gamut from quietly admitting a black student without any general announcement to constituents, to lengthy discussions among faculty, students, and parents. One school described by Mallery was so solicitous in appeasing its constituents that it even helped a white family who objected to the impending enrollment of one black student find another school for their daughter.⁴

According to a staff member of NSSFNS in a conversation held with Mallery, resistance to integration was strongest among "parents;

²Ibid., p. 17.

³Ibid.

⁴Ibid., p. 20.

then trustees, then alumni, school administrators themselves, faculty and, least of all, students."⁵ Schools which hesitated longer than others before enrolling black students, feared most, massive withdrawal of white students and loss of financial support from major donors to the schools. In all the schools surveyed by Mallery, however, neither of these feared consequences ever became reality.

Mallery examined certain aspects of independent school social relationships because he saw this area as one which was "certainly at the heart of much hesitancy and wariness in the process of desegregating an independent school."⁶ The familiar shibboleth used by segregationists in the South to protest public school integration during the period of the Civil Rights Movement, namely that school integration would lead to interracial dating and marriages, was not absent in the debates over integration of independent schools. Although the independents were perhaps not quite as candid as the foes of public school integration in discussing this issue, it nevertheless was felt quite acutely. It was a particular source of concern in the independent boarding schools, where during the academic year at least, a student's social life is confined almost entirely to the school. This concern was not, as often presumed, confined to white parents; strong feelings pro and con on the issue of interracial dating were shared by many black parents as well. For most black parents, however, this concern was secondary to the immediate and more basic problem of how their

⁵Ibid., p. 22.

⁶Ibid., p. 38.

children would survive on a day-to-day basis in the white world of the independent school.

Schools varied in how they attempted to regulate social relations between white and black students. In the boarding schools, dormitory assignments for black students were an issue. A few schools claimed that they made rooming assignments without racial considerations, placing black students "with the person best suited by common interests, temperament, disposition, year of graduation and so on." It is interesting to note, however, that one of the schools claiming such a non-racial rooming policy went on to say that they had "never roomed Negro students together and, interestingly enough, they have never chosen to room together after they have been here a while."⁷ Another school reported that it was "anxious not only that they [black students] not room together but that they not even be in the same building."⁸

Other schools had rooming policies designed to shield black students "from possible hurt and degradation,"⁹ which consisted of rooming first year black students together, then letting them choose their roommates for their subsequent years in the schools. The point is repeatedly emphasized by the schools in Mallery's study--almost as if it were a sine qua non of successful integration--that few, if any black students, when given the choice, opted to room together.

⁷Ibid., p. 39.

⁸Ibid., p. 72.

⁹Ibid., p. 38.

In the early sixties, it was the policy in many independent schools to assign blind dates for school dances. This was particularly true in the single-sex school, which at that point in time was the predominate institutional type. Typical of how some schools handled this situation was the following report one school head made to Mallery:

. . . in arranging for blind dates at group parties we pair off a Negro student with another Negro student, or if there is no Negro partner available, a white partner is signed up providing the plan is agreeable to both students.¹⁰

Another approach was for schools to try and deemphasize the more formal social contacts in favor of less threatening social activities. One headmistress in reference to her school said:

There are a million and one things young people from kindergarten up can do together besides or along with dancing, for heaven's sake. . . . What about community service projects--students helping in community boys' clubs, working to help repair homes in programs like those of the Friends Service Committee? There are school and outside athletic contests, hobby clubs, all the rest of it.¹¹

Schools taking this approach had on the surface more social success with boys than with girls. A teacher in one school offered a possible explanation of this difference.

I think boys have an easier time of adolescence as they go through high school than girls do. For the same reasons and for some different ones, our Negro girls have a harder time of it than our Negro boys.

¹⁰Ibid.

¹¹Ibid., pp. 40-41.

The boys have athletics, for one thing, Athletics are absorbing physically and emotionally and can be a major satisfaction. . . . Adolescent girls have it hard waiting for the boys to take the social initiative. Some of our Negro girls have found this very hard--they see boys not taking the next step--toward dating.¹²

If boys do find the social adjustment to independent schools easier than girls, it could be assumed that their general attitude towards the independent school experience would be more positive than that of girls. One of the purposes of this investigation is to see if there is any evidence which might support this type of observation. These findings will be discussed in Chapter IV.

Mallery concluded his study with what he entitled "Five Key Statements" on the subject of black students in independent schools. Three of these statements were made by progressive school heads, who in the opinion of Mallery had successfully integrated their schools. Their advice to their colleagues contemplating the enrollment of blacks contained some very perceptive practical suggestions, although the language of the statements was replete with the liberal moralistic rhetoric typical of the early sixties. In retrospect, it seems that many of the schools who came to integration after these early pioneers chose the path of liberal moralism at the expense of a practical assessment of their situations. This may account for some of the frustrations with these schools that are recounted by black students later in this chapter. A few brief illustrations from these headmasters' statements

¹²Ibid., p. 41.

will perhaps clarify this point.

Walter E. Clark, at the time Headmaster of North Country School, Lake Placid, New York, emphasized in his statement the importance of including black adults in any integration plan.

The admission of Negro students should imply that Negro teachers are equally welcome. Finding qualified Negro teachers is much more difficult than finding Negro students, but it is nevertheless equally important from every point of view.¹³

Cleveland A. Thomas, in 1963 Principal of Chicago's Francis W. Parker School, while also emphasizing the importance of black adult input, saw careful previous preparation as the keynote of his school's success with integration.¹⁴

Very few other independent schools in attempting to integrate seemed to follow the advice of Clark or Thomas. As has been previously stated, most schools moved into integration without much systematic planning. In those few cases where any planning did occur, rarely did it include input from black adults. As for the integration of faculties as well as student bodies, even today, more than ten years after the publication of Mallery's study, most independent schools with black students have no black teachers.

Two other points raised by Clark in discussing his own school's experience with integration illustrate sources of conflict that would

¹³Ibid., p. 67, citing Walter E. Clark, "Integration at North Country School," Independent School Bulletin, April 1963.

¹⁴Mallery, Negro Students in Independent Schools, p. 57, citing Cleveland A. Thomas, "The Independent School and Desegregation," School Review, No. 3 (1961).

arise as other schools began to admit black students.

While emphasizing that the inclusion of Negroes in a previously all-white school requires rather careful preparation among members of the faculty and staff, I can happily declare that in our situation the awareness that students were Negro or not Negro soon disappeared. We are left wondering how it was ever imagined that such a mixing would seem strange or might present problems. Many of the problems that are considered in advance turn out to be fictitious and imaginary. The few real problems encountered are less awesome than anticipated. And those not anticipated are few indeed and minor in substance. The courage required of personnel in white schools when Negroes are first admitted is small indeed compared to that required of the Negroes taking this step. White people have far greater need for humility than for courage.¹⁵

Clark's first observation--that after the initial phases of integration a school reaches a plateau from which it becomes color-blind in perceiving its black students--is contradicted by the statements of black students later in this chapter. Blacks argue that such a plateau, in reality, is never achieved in spite of a school's good intentions. Other blacks would even question the desirability of such vision. Furthermore, where on the surface color-blindness does seem to exist, many blacks would protest that it has been fostered at the expense of the racial and cultural identity of the black students involved.

Clark's second point, which emphasizes that it is the black

¹⁵Mallery, Negro Students in Independent Schools, p. 67, citing Clark, "Integration at North Country School."

students, and not the schools, that eventually bear the brunt of integration, is one that few schools have taken to heart. A continual complaint of black students in independent schools over the past decade has been directed against the moralistic and patronizing tone assumed by many schools in describing their efforts on behalf of minorities. Schools have seemed to take for granted both the courage of their black students as well as the contributions they have made to the total vitality of these institutions.

All three of the school heads' statements cited by Mallery warn their colleagues of the danger and immorality of exploiting black children by enrolling only a few in their schools as specimens. This warning was most eloquently stated by John D. Verdery, then Headmaster of the Wooster School in Danbury, Connecticut:

I have come to believe that what I call the "symbolic" Negro is a kind of smoke screen behind which old prejudices can still hide. I speak neither from cynicism nor self-righteousness. It is just a devilish convenience when someone says, "Do you have any Negro students?" to be able to answer, "Certainly. There goes one of them now. I don't know where the other one is, but he's around here somewhere."¹⁶

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Morally the symbolic Negro, except as a first step, is a dishonest gesture. The question of whether or not there should be a Negro quota is one which no private educational institution, so far as I know, has yet had to face. No school or college,

¹⁶Mallery, Negro Students in Independent Schools, p. 70, citing John D. Verdery, "We Wanted Negro Students," College Board Review, Spring 1962.

whatever its enrollment, can seriously defend the proposition that it has a quota of two. If this is their claim, then they might better have a quota of zero.¹⁷

Today, no independent school would admit to having a quota for black students; however, according to statistics for 1971-72, only 28.4 percent of NAIS schools had minority group enrollment of 5 percent or more. Only 6.7 percent had minority enrollment of 10 percent or more.¹⁸ The actual percentage of black enrollment in these schools is even less since the NAIS statistics lumped together all minority groups (blacks, American Indians, Spanish, and Orientals) in reporting schools with 5 percent or more minority student enrollment.

The Kraushaar study. The second major study to treat the experience of blacks in independent schools was Otto F. Kraushaar's book, American Nonpublic Schools. This study was sponsored by NAIS, whose president secured financial support for it from several foundations. It was originally planned to be limited to independent schools. In progress for more than ten years before its publication in 1972, the scope of the study was enlarged to include American private schools in general. The aim of the study as stated by the author was "to trace the effects of voluntary choice in schooling and its implications for educational practice and theory."¹⁹

During the late sixties and early seventies private schools,

¹⁷Ibid., pp. 74-75.

¹⁸National Association of Independent Schools, Minority Group Survey 1971-72, p. 3.

¹⁹Kraushaar, American Nonpublic Schools, p. 363.

especially the independent schools, were increasingly receiving negative media coverage for some of their elitist tendencies. The impetus for much of this criticism was the publication of the book, A World of Our Own, which was an exposé of the shallowness of one well known independent boarding school by one of its "loyal" alumni.²⁰ Because his study was published shortly after the flurry of reviews and counter-reviews of A World of Our Own, it was hoped by many private school people that Kraushaar would provide the definitive defense of their institutions. This was clearly not the aim of Kraushaar; nevertheless, it may account for some of the dissatisfaction with which private school people received his book. Even when viewed more objectively, the study is less complete and more pedestrian than one would have expected, given the amount of time, staff, and money available to Kraushaar during its compilation.

One chapter of the Kraushaar study is entitled, "Private Schools and the Racial Question." It includes general statistical and descriptive information on private school integration. Much of this information was gathered by means of a survey conducted among the various constituents of 489 private elementary and secondary schools throughout the country. These 489 schools were those responding from Kraushaar's original random sample of 750 schools. Although most of the schools (369) were private parochial schools, 120 were independent schools such as those with which this present investigation is concerned.

²⁰Peter S. Prescott, A World of Our Own (New York: Coward-McCann, 1970).

Of the responding independent schools, forty-two were located in the Northeast,²¹ which closely approximates geographically the sample used by this investigator. As the results of Kraushaar's survey were presented separately by school type and geographic location, his data on Northeastern independent schools is particularly relevant to the present study.

To determine the attitudes of private schools concerning integration, Kraushaar formulated different questionnaires for the following constituents of the schools: parents and governing boards, school heads, teachers, and students. In interpreting the data obtained from these questionnaires, Kraushaar issued this warning:

The race issue and other forms of discrimination are for many Americans charged with emotional overtones of fear and diffidence. Moreover, the normal human pleasure in being detected in virtue, might have prompted many to respond in a way that is considered the socially acceptable thing. Yet the fact that the attitudinal responses of the different groups roughly parallel the factual record of integration in nonpublic schools, in direction if not in degree, lends at least some credibility to the expressed attitudes; in general, the respondents are most favorably disposed in school groups where the practice of integration is most prevalent, and least favorably disposed in schools where it lags.²²

In questioning parents and governing boards on their attitudes towards the admission of black students, Kraushaar broadened the perspective by also soliciting opinions on the admission of Roman Catholics,

²¹Kraushaar, American Nonpublic Schools, p. 370.

²²Ibid., p. 241.

Protestants, Jews, and children from poor families. The independent school constituents as a group, with the exception of those in the South, were more tolerant to enrollment of students from all the above mentioned groups than any other category of nonpublic schools. In the Northeast, Midwest, and Far West independent group, more than 90 percent of all constituents favored the admission of black students; governing boards, however, were more inclined than parents to attach limits to black admissions.²³

Although the majority of independent school constituents in all areas of the country supported the admission of children from poor families, they were less favorably disposed to having these students in their schools than they were to black students. This difference was similar to Mallery's observation that many schools in the early days of integration found social class prejudice to be even stronger than racial prejudice. By enrolling middle class black students, schools were often able to mollify some of the protest from white parents.²⁴

This reluctance to enroll children of poor families may also account for the slow pace of integration in many independent schools as most blacks in the United States are at the bottom of the economic and social ladder. If this social prejudice is indeed a strong force in independent schools, one might expect it to have an effect on the attitudes of black students towards these schools. If black students

²³Ibid., pp. 242-243.

²⁴Mallery, Negro Students in Independent Schools, p. 19.

who are receiving scholarships to attend independent schools perceive that this in some way stigmatizes them, then perhaps they will feel less positive about their independent school experience than those blacks not receiving financial aid. One of the purposes of this present investigation is to see if there is any evidence to support this hypothesis.

In his questionnaire to school heads, Kraushaar asked how they felt their constituents viewed integration. In most cases the school heads saw their constituents as more conservative on this issue than the responding parents and trustees saw themselves. The school heads also believed their own position to be more liberal than that of their constituents. In the Northeast independent group, approximately 60 percent of the school heads reported that they favored integration with no particular limits while they only thought about 40 percent of their parents and trustees held similar attitudes. If credibility can be attached to the attitudes the parents and trustees themselves expressed, then Kraushaar feels school heads have perhaps been too cautious in estimating their constituents' readiness to accept a more open admissions policy.²⁵

In response to the question of whether the number of students from racial and ethnic minorities in their school was sufficient, the majority of faculty and students in independent schools nationwide answered in the negative. In the Northeast independent group, about 60 percent of the faculty favored enrollment of more minorities in

²⁵Kraushaar, American Nonpublic Schools, pp. 244-245.

their schools and about 55 percent of the students favored this. Kraushaar hypothesized that the slight difference among faculty and students on this question might be a reflection of the students' upper and upper middle class conservative backgrounds; whereas the faculty was probably more diverse, both economically and politically.²⁶

When the trustees responded to this question, only 40 percent favored increased enrollment of black students. When this survey was taken very few independent schools had more than 2 or 3 percent black enrollment. In not favoring by a majority more enrollment of black students, at first glance the trustees seem to contradict their earlier responses (more than 90 percent in favor) to the question of admission of black students. Under closer scrutiny, however, the probable explanation of this discrepancy becomes apparent: most trustees simply had not moved beyond a policy of tokenism as far as black students were concerned.

On the issue of the employment of black teachers in nonpublic schools, Kraushaar only queried school heads as to how they perceived the views of their constituents. Across the board, school constituents were perceived as being less favorably disposed to faculty, than they were to student integration. In the Northeast independent group, only about 60 percent of the heads favored the employment of black teachers, with approximately 10 percent of them actively opposed to such employment. The other 30 percent were apparently non-committal. The heads thought that only about 40 percent of their parents and trustees would

²⁶Ibid., pp. 246-247.

favor the hiring of black teachers, with 15 percent being actively opposed.²⁷ The direction of these responses certainly agree with the actual scarcity of black teachers in independent schools.

Because in general the majority of nonpublic school constituents expressed attitudes favoring school integration, Kraushaar attempted to explore why in a greater number of cases these favorable attitudes did not translate themselves into more than minimally integrated schools. He postulated three major factors as possible obstacles to increased integration: location of most nonpublic schools, high tuitions and lack of scholarship funds, and unrealistic admissions criteria. These obstacles were similar in many respects to those reported by Mallery.

As most independent schools are located in largely segregated white communities, one very practical problem blocking increased enrollment of blacks is inadequate transportation from black communities to many of these schools. This is particularly true of the day schools, where many blacks in attendance must spend long hours in the daily round trip between home and school. Transportation is also a concern of the boarding schools, but here the issue is financial. The cost of a year in boarding school is increased when travel to and from the schools for vacations is considered. A student, for example, who lives in Chicago and attends a boarding school in New England must budget almost \$500 for transportation costs each year. For a student of modest means, this amount of money in addition to tuition may make it

²⁷Ibid., p. 245.

impossible for him to attend the school. If the student is receiving scholarship aid, the school will have to allow for these transportation costs, which in turn decreases the total number of scholarships that can be awarded. As many black students in boarding schools do require financial aid, schools find it difficult to increase the numbers of those students who will require transportation stipends.

The tuition in independent schools is steadily increasing. In 1970 the average yearly total cost of attending a boarding school was more than \$3500. The average cost of a secondary independent day school was \$1500. Given the economic reality that 34.5 percent of all nonwhite families in the United States (as compared with 8.5 percent of white families) were classified as poor in 1967 by a Federal Government Bureau of the Census survey; the necessity of large financial aid budgets if many black children are to attend independent schools becomes very clear.²⁸ In surveying the schools in his study, Kraushaar found that only a negligible number of all parents in nonpublic schools had incomes at or below the poverty level. In the Northeast independent schools, students from poverty backgrounds only represented 1.4 percent of the total student enrollment. In fact, almost three-fourths of the constituents of NAIS schools had annual incomes of \$20,000 or more, with a fifth of the total having incomes of \$50,000 or more.²⁹ Since very few black families in the United States have annual incomes in this bracket, independent schools would have a small pool of

²⁸Ibid., p. 260.

²⁹Ibid., pp. 95-97.

candidates from which to choose if they were only to integrate with blacks who could afford to pay the full tuition.

In the past decade several independent schools have made concerted efforts to allocate large portions of their financial aid budgets to help increase black student enrollment. Again referring to NAIS statistics, in 1971-72 schools reported financial aid expenditures of \$29,416,455. Of the total number of students enrolled in the reporting schools, 10.7 percent were receiving some form of financial assistance. Of the total number of minority students enrolled, 44.9 percent were receiving financial assistance. Therefore, while one out of ten students in the total student enrollment was receiving financial assistance, nearly one of every two minority students was being assisted financially. Also, of the total number of students receiving financial aid, 23 percent were minority students. Aid to minority students amounted to 33.2 percent of the total scholarships allotted in the reporting schools. The average scholarship grant for minority students was \$1,675; for all others, \$1,009.³⁰

Although the efforts of some schools to increase financial aid for black students have been commendable, other schools have not made such a strong financial commitment to the education of blacks. Kraushaar felt that even more scholarship dollars could be made available for black students if schools reordered some of their institutional priorities.

³⁰ National Association of Independent Schools, Minority Group Survey 1971-72, pp. 3-4.

It is clear that the paucity of scholarship funds is a serious limiting factor for schools who wish to enroll more black students. But it must also be said that lack of genuine enthusiasm for the admission of more nonpaying black Americans seems a continuing deterrent in some schools. One has only to consider the characteristic ways in which some independent schools use the proceeds of their periodic major fund drives; significant percentages rarely are either planned for or allocated to scholarship funds for minority groups. Indeed if these schools, especially those which already have impressive facilities, chose a different order of priorities in the expenditure of funds, as some now do, appreciable sums could be directed toward the education of an increased number of qualified young black Americans.³¹

Kraushaar's third postulated obstacle to increased enrollment of blacks in independent schools was the admissions criteria of many schools. Because of poor previous schooling, rather than lack of native ability, many black students fail to meet the admissions criteria of some of the more prestigious independent schools. In light of the decrease in total applications to these schools in the past few years, many admissions' officers have been forced to become less selective in evaluating candidates, blacks as well as whites. It would therefore seem that the issue of a lack of "qualified" blacks would be even more spurious an argument today than it was five or ten years ago.

Another part of Kraushaar's study, unrelated directly to the racial question, is nevertheless very relevant to this present investigation. In his research, Kraushaar surveyed the attitudes of nonpublic

³¹Kraushaar, American Nonpublic Schools, pp. 249-250.

school teachers and students towards their schools in particular, and towards the goals and purposes of education in general. Although the respondents were not divided along racial lines; it is safe to assume that the attitudes expressed represent a white, rather than black perspective, given the miniscule number of blacks in Kraushaar's total sample. An examination of some of these attitudes is interesting because it points out possible areas where whites and blacks in independent schools might differ in their perceptions of these institutions. As explained in Chapter I, one of the principal assumptions of the present investigation was that attitudes towards independent schools differ along racial lines. A review of Kraushaar's attitudinal survey indicates that there is, in fact, some justification for this assumption.

When asked by Kraushaar to choose from a suggested list of ten aims of education what they considered the most and least important, independent school teachers attached the greatest importance to the goal of helping students "learn to think clearly and independently," followed by "an understanding of the main areas of knowledge" and "developing a lifetime love of learning." The least important goals for them were helping students to "prepare to work for the improvement of society and the benefit of other people" and to "develop the skills necessary to earn a good living and compete."³²

Although black educators would probably not take exception to the academic and intellectual goals which the independent school

³²Ibid., p. 15.

teachers felt were the most important ones, they would strongly object to the short shrift given the goals of improving society and preparing students to compete successfully in the world. Black educators--recognizing the economic deprivation and personal degradation blacks have suffered for years due both to their lack of marketable skills and to the racist nature of American society--strongly feel that education should provide black children with the skills necessary to better their own individual conditions, as well as equip them with the resources to combat those forces in the society at large which are responsible for oppressing them and the communities from which they come.³³ White teachers in independent schools probably have difficulty seeing the importance of these survival goals. Most of these teachers have only had to deal with upper and upper middle class children, who often take the wealth and power of their parents for granted and therefore are not overly concerned with the purely economic problems of making a living.

Independent school students, when asked by Kraushaar what they wanted from their schools, replied in a manner similar to their teachers. Given a list of six educational outcomes or goals, they said they wanted most of all to have their schools assist them "to learn to think clearly and independently;" secondly, "to become an interesting person, to yourself and to others;" and least of all, "to

³³For a more detailed discussion of current thoughts of black educators see Nathan Wright, Jr., What Black Educators Are Saying (New York: Hawthorn Books, Inc., 1970).

develop skills necessary to earn a good living and compete."³⁴ The statements of black students reviewed later in this chapter suggest that they would not be quite as cavalier as their white school mates when contemplating their future well-being. Black students might also place less emphasis on the somewhat egotistical goal of "becoming an interesting person" in favor of more society- and community-directed goals.

Although he had no norms with which to compare his results, based on his questionnaires and school visitations, Kraushaar concluded that the level of satisfaction of students in nonpublic schools was extraordinarily high.

The great majority is convinced that they receive more individual attention than they would in the public school and that the teachers really care about them. While they recognize that the public schools often have superior facilities, equipment, and a broader, more comprehensive curriculum, nevertheless they believe their school to be academically superior.³⁵

Obviously, because of the use of different measuring devices, it will not be possible to specifically compare Kraushaar's conclusions with the results of the present study. It should be interesting, nevertheless, to see if the black students in this investigation show the same general degree of satisfaction with their independent schools as the white students in Kraushaar's study.

The ABC report. A brief explanation of the purposes of ABC,

³⁴Kraushaar, American Nonpublic Schools, p. 124.

³⁵Ibid., p. 127.

together with some of the details of its ten year history, was presented in Chapter I. As was stated then, ABC was one of the thousands of compensatory education programs set up in the early sixties to deal with the problems of poverty in the United States. Of all these programs, ABC was among those providing the greatest degree of intervention, since it removed students from their home communities for a period of from two to four academic years. Based partially on the belief of its founders and also because initially it received financial support from the Office of Economic Opportunity, ABC was devoted almost exclusively to assisting those students whose families' incomes were at or below the poverty level established by the federal government. It was the goal of the program to provide these students with the kind of independent school education that would insure their entrance into the nation's competitive colleges. From its inception the ABC program, unlike many of the other anti-poverty programs, was not one which attempted to help students reach minimal levels of literacy or employability; rather, its goal was to help its participants eventually obtain positions of leadership in the top echelons of American society.

By September 1972, 3,195 students had participated in ABC and had been awarded secondary school scholarships with a value of more than \$35,000,000.³⁶ By the beginning of the seventies, however, much of the optimism that had accompanied the formation of the anti-poverty programs had vanished. Public funds for such programs were rapidly diminishing. Throughout the nation the mood was one of questioning

³⁶Perry, A Better Chance, p. 7.

what, if any, had been the long-range effects of these programs. Given this new atmosphere, the directors of ABC felt it imperative to undertake an objective evaluation of their program to determine if their stated goals were being met. If this evaluation proved positive, not only would it provide a basis for renewed commitment on the part of ABC and its member schools, but it would also be helpful in sustaining old and attracting new financial support.

In 1970, the first small group of ABC students who had entered independent schools in 1964 graduated from college. With this group of students in graduate study or pursuing careers, it was possible for the first time to determine if some of the long-range goals of the program were being achieved. With this in mind ABC submitted in 1970 a proposal for funding a research project and received grants from the Henry Luce Foundation, the New York Community Trust, and the Alfred P. Sloan Foundation. ABC staff member George Perry, assisted by Nancy Kopperman, began research on the program in the spring of 1971. The results of this research were published in March 1973 under the title, A Better Chance: Evaluation of Student Attitudes and Academic Performance 1964-1972.

The ABC evaluation limited itself to the impact of the program on the student participants. It consciously avoided an examination of the impact of the program on the schools the ABC students attended. The specific points examined were an assessment of ABC students' academic performance during high school and college; their post-college activities; and their attitudes in the areas of aspirations, fate-control

(the degree to which they felt they were guiding their own destiny), self-concept, racial relations, and relationships to home.

The results of the ABC study are directly relevant to the present investigation in several ways. Of prime importance is the fact that the ABC study provides the only other statistical information now available on the attitudes of black students in independent schools. Since 72 percent of the respondents in the ABC study were black and because all data on black students was presented separately from that of non-black ABC students, it will be possible to compare ABC results with the findings of the present investigation. The relationships between the two studies are further enhanced due to the fact that 37.8 percent of this investigator's respondents were participants in the ABC program. Furthermore, one of the hypotheses of the present study was to determine if ABC black students and non-ABC black students differed in their perceptions of independent schools. Because of these relationships, a comparison of the findings of the two studies will be discussed in Chapters IV and V of this paper.

The methodology of the ABC study included an examination of the academic records and standardized test scores--before, during, and where already graduated after participation in the program--of all the 1,640 students who had entered ABC schools and were scheduled to graduate by June 1972. These records were compared with those of three control groups. The first control group was drawn from a group of students who had been accepted into the ABC program in 1967 but had not been able to attend because of a sudden, last minute cut in

federal funding. Fifty ABC students were paired along very specific parameters with 50 of these students who stayed at home. This control group was used to compare the academic success of students in the ABC program with similar students who attended public schools at home. A second control group consisted of a random sample of non-ABC students in two independent schools. The academic progress of the ABC students was then compared with the progress of this control group. To compare the academic performance of ABC students in college with non-ABC students of similar academic strength and family background, a third control group of 65 students in four colleges enrolling substantial numbers of ABC students was established.

For his investigation of attitudes, Perry formulated a questionnaire which was administered to a random sample of ABC students and to two control groups. In the spring of 1970, the questionnaire was administered to 125 black ABC seniors in independent schools and to control groups of 138 white seniors in ABC schools and 103 black students attending public schools in their home communities. In the fall of 1971, the same questionnaire was administered to 134 entering black ABC tenth graders in independent schools and to the control groups of tenth graders (130 white independent school students and 137 black public school students). The black control groups consisted of students who resembled ABC students in socio-economic background and academic standing. These black controls had had no previous connection with the ABC program and were not the same ones used in comparing the academic records of ABC students with similar students in public

schools. The white control group was representative of the middle and upper class students who have traditionally attended independent schools.

In the following pages a brief summary of the important findings of the ABC study are presented:

1. Academic performance in secondary school. One measure used by Perry to determine the academic success of ABC students in independent schools was their rank in the graduating classes of these institutions. In general, ABC students entering independent schools had lower standardized test scores than their non-ABC classmates. When they graduated from these schools their scores were an average of fifty points below their classmates' on the twelfth grade Scholastic Aptitude Tests. Despite these lower test scores, however, ABC students' academic records were approximately as strong as those of their non-ABC classmates. The median rank in class of ABC students was just below the middle--at the 47th percentile. Given the superiority of their classmates on standardized tests, Perry concluded that the actual performance of ABC students as measured by rank in class was very satisfactory. Relative to their classmates ABC students in fact "outperformed" their test scores.³⁷

Perry also found that there was no significant difference in rank in class among subgroups of ABC students.

None of the socio-economic factors significantly predicted rank in class. There was no significant differences within groups by

³⁷Ibid., pp. 38-45.

sex, race, geography, parents' education, parents' marital status, welfare status, family income, and number of siblings. Twelfth grade rank in class was also unrelated to the grade level at which ABC students entered independent school. Their rank in class at coed and non-coed schools and at schools varying in level of structure, supportiveness of ABC students, and level of ABC enrollment was similar.³⁸

A second measure used by Perry to determine the success of ABC students in independent schools was their attrition rate. Although the attrition of ABC students increased from 7 percent for the class scheduled to graduate from independent schools in 1967 to 28 percent for students to be graduated in 1972, the aggregate attrition rate over these years was only 20 percent, as compared to 30 percent for non-ABC students in the same schools. These results were very pleasing to ABC staff members, since given the background of ABC students, it might have been expected that they would drop out of independent schools at a higher rate than their affluent white classmates. By 1972 ABC attrition had risen, however, to the level of non-ABC students. Although concerned with this rise, Perry concluded that there was no cause for alarm. He felt that a certain amount of attrition was healthy for the program since it indicated that schools were attempting to work with "risk" students. If in the years following his study attrition continued to rise to a point higher than that of non-ABC students, Perry felt it might then be necessary to rethink some of the basic goals of the program.

³⁸Ibid., p. 41.

In general the ABC study found that its students dropped out of independent schools for the same academic, disciplinary, and social reasons as their more affluent classmates. There were, however, a few reasons for attrition that were perhaps unique to ABC students. Foremost among these was the greater degree of culture shock experienced by ABC students than by their more affluent classmates upon entering independent schools. The world of the independent school was so different from the poverty neighborhoods of most ABC students that many of them found it too difficult and painful to move back and forth between the "two worlds."

The academic demands of independent schools also proved to be a formidable barrier to the adjustment of some ABC students. Accustomed to ranking high in their neighborhood public school classes, and without too much effort on their part, a few ABC students found it difficult to cope with the fact that in independent schools, even with increased effort, they were always at the bottom of their classes.

Other ABC students dropped out of the program because they did not receive strong support from their parents to attend these schools. Previous to their children's enrollment in independent schools, most ABC parents knew little about private schools. Some parents were convinced by ABC resource persons that it would be in the best interest of their children to participate in the program. Rarely did these parents have much choice in selecting one independent school over another for their children. Very few ABC parents even had the opportunity to visit their children's independent schools. For these reasons, ABC

parents were rarely as enthusiastic for the program or a school as were the parents of non-ABC students who had actively chosen independent education and a particular school for their children.

One very interesting finding in Perry's study of attrition was the difference in drop out rates of various ABC subgroups. Although there was no significant difference in ABC attrition based on type of independent school, certain characteristics relating to students' backgrounds did affect drop out rates. Attrition did not vary with the education, income, or family size of ABC parents. It did, however, with sex, race, location of home community, parents' marital status, and family welfare status. Attrition of female ABC students (14 percent) was significantly lower than for male students (22 percent). This correlation between attrition and sex of student is particularly interesting since it seems to contradict Mallery's observation that black females found adjustment to independent schools more difficult than black males. It also contrasts with another finding by Perry which saw black females significantly less in agreement than black males that ABC should continue to place students in independent schools. Since this present investigation also explores attitudinal differences among males and females with respect to independent schools, some discussion of these contradictory findings will be included in Chapters IV and V of this paper.

Another factor affecting attrition rate was the race of students. Black and Puerto Rican ABC students were significantly less likely to drop out of the program than white and American Indian students.

Although these findings are interesting, they will not be discussed in detail here as this paper limits itself to black students in independent schools. Further research should be done, however, to explore some of the reasons why almost half of the American Indian students in the ABC program dropped out before graduation.

ABC students whose home communities were located in the South were described by member schools as highly motivated and their attrition rate was significantly lower than the rate for ABC students from other parts of the country. One possible explanation of this is suggested by the segregated nature of southern life in the sixties. ABC students from the South probably felt more acutely than their black peers from other areas of the country that independent schools provided the only real opportunity, given circumstances in their local communities, for them to receive a good education. Also, coming from a legally segregated society southern students probably had more experience than their peers in dealing with overt racism. They were therefore psychologically more equipped to cope with some of the racist situations they might encounter in independent schools. This explanation of their lower attrition rate becomes even more plausible when one notices that it in fact began to increase as legal segregation in the South decreased.

ABC students whose parents were separated or divorced were more likely to drop out of independent schools than students whose parents were living together. Also, ABC students whose parents were dependent on welfare had a higher attrition rate than students whose parents

were employed. It can be hypothesized that students from welfare and broken home backgrounds were less able to cope with the pressures of independent schools when they also had to concern themselves with the economic and social problems of their families at home.

Two other factors significantly affecting ABC attrition rate were the students' academic strength before entering the program and their grade of entry into the program. A high proportion of ABC students who entered the program without strong recommendations from their previous school counselor eventually left independent schools. Of 100 youngsters rated "outstanding" or "excellent" as students by their public school counselors, 84 remained in ABC schools until graduation. On the other hand, of 100 students rated "fair" or "poor" by their public school counselors, only 61 remained to graduate from ABC schools. Based on these statistics Perry concluded that ABC schools were somewhat limited in their ability to work successfully with "risk" students. He added that efforts to increase the proportion of such students in the program would probably be counterproductive.

Although intuitively one might expect students who enrolled in independent schools at a younger age would feel more comfortable in this environment (and therefore have a lower attrition rate) than students entering at an older age, Perry found just the opposite to be true. ABC students who entered independent schools in grade eight or nine were significantly more likely to drop out than students entering in the upper grades. To explain these findings Perry suggested that students entering ABC schools in the early high school years were probably too young to give much thought to the ramifications

of attending such schools. As they grew older, some of them questioned their reasons for being in the program and decided to drop out. Students entering the program at an older age were most likely more mature and had consciously decided to accept a place in the program. Also, schools were probably more inclined to drop a difficult student at the end of the ninth or tenth grade than they were to drop one at the end of the eleventh grade.

Since geographical location of home community, number of years spent in a particular school, and academic success are all variables in this present investigation, it will be possible to compare Perry's findings in these areas with the results of the present study. This comparison will be given in Chapters IV and V of this paper.

As previously stated, the attrition rate of ABC students increased from a low of 7 percent in 1967 to 28 percent by 1972. Since this increase in attrition occurred in varying degrees among all subgroups of ABC students, Perry attempted to analyze some of the possible causes which could account for the rise. Because information available to him indicated that there was no significant difference in the academic strength of students accepted into the program over the years in question, Perry ruled out the possibility that increased attrition was caused by acceptance of riskier students into the program. Changes in ABC schools also did not seem to account for increased attrition as there were no significant differences in the rates of increase when different categories of schools were compared. Also, attrition of non-ABC students in these schools remained fairly consistent over the years. Perry

therefore concluded that the probable cause for the increase in attrition was related to changes in American society over which independent schools and the ABC program had little control.

During the latter part of the sixties there was an increase in black racial consciousness, pride, and separatism which made it more difficult for some ABC students to remain in predominantly white schools. Also, when the ABC program was first started students perceived attendance at an independent school as their only chance of gaining admittance to a prestigious college. However, beginning in the late sixties colleges began actively recruiting for the first time in many of the same home communities from which ABC students came. With this turn in events, many ABC students concluded that they could just as easily gain admittance to a "good" college by attending their local public high school as by going away to boarding school. Why, then, many of them asked, put up with the difficulties of being black in a white boarding school when the same outward results could be achieved by staying at home?³⁹

The third measure used by Perry to determine ABC students' academic success in independent schools was their performance on standardized aptitude and achievement tests. Most ABC students took the Secondary School Admissions Test (SSAT) as part of their application to the ABC program. Virtually all of them took the Scholastic Aptitude Test (SAT) while applying to college. The Educational Testing Service, based on a study of more than 3,000 mostly middle and upper

³⁹For Perry's discussion of attrition, see Ibid., pp. 46-72.

class independent school students, compiled a table predicting SAT scores from SSAT scores. With these measures it was possible for Perry to examine the test score progress of ABC students from the beginning to the end of their independent school experience. It was also possible to compare the test score progress of ABC students with a control group of similar students who remained in their local public schools and with a control group of non-ABC independent school students.

Perry's findings did not provide clear evidence that the program had affected test score performance of participants. On the average, there was no significant difference in test score progress on the SAT-Verbal between ABC students and the public school controls. On the math section of the SAT, the control group actually made greater progress than the ABC students. However, of the public school control group of 47 students similar in background to ABC students, only 13 actually took the SAT. It is probably safe to assume that these 13 students were more successful in high school than those students who did not take the test. It would, therefore, be inappropriate to reach firm conclusions based on the results of only thirteen pairs of students.

In comparison to the control group of non-ABC independent school students, the test score progress of ABC students was less than had been expected by the directors of the program. On the average, ABC students achieved SAT-Verbal scores fifteen points lower than predicted and math scores thirteen points lower than predicted. Their

SAT scores were statistically significantly lower than the middle and upper class students, whose SSAT scores were equivalent to those of ABC students three or four years earlier.

Certain subgroups of ABC students did, however, make greater test score progress than the group as a whole. Students whose tests scores were higher when they entered the program made greater progress than students whose initial scores were lower. Also, four-year ABC students made greater test score progress than three-year students. The verbal score progress of the four-year students was only slightly less, and their math score progress was not significantly different than their more affluent classmates. This finding led Perry to conclude the possibility that the effects of the program on test scores were just beginning to be shown after several years of participation.

One important characteristic of ABC schools had a significant effect on test score progress, namely the level of structure in a school. ABC students in highly structured, moderately structured, and less structured schools entered the program with similar test scores. At the time they graduated from independent schools, however, the test scores of students in highly structured schools were significantly higher than those of other ABC students. At highly structured schools, ABC students made test score progress which was not statistically significantly different than that of their more affluent classmates. They also scored thirty points higher on both the verbal and math sections of the SAT than ABC students at less structured schools who had achieved similar SSAT scores upon entry into the program. Degree of structure in a school did not, however, affect the test scores of

non-ABC students. This finding led Perry to observe that "if test score progress is a valid measure of academic growth, the movement in the direction of reducing structure, which is advocated by many affluent students, may be harmful to disadvantaged students."⁴⁰ Since one of the variables in the present investigation is degree of structure, it will be interesting to see if, in addition to affecting test score progress, it correlates with black student attitudes in general towards their independent schools.

Lack of significant test score progress on the part of its students was perhaps the most disappointing of Perry's findings for the directors of the ABC program. Since one of the most important founding goals of the program was to gain admittance of its students into competitive colleges and since these colleges do rely heavily on SAT scores, it had been hoped that progress on test scores would have been more substantial. Perry's findings, however, were similar to other studies which have pointed out that it is extremely difficult to boost students' test scores at the high school level. Because the ABC program radically intervened in students' lives by removing them from their home environment, the directors of the program had thought they would be more successful than other compensatory educational programs in boosting test scores. Perry acknowledged that standardized tests are regarded with considerable suspicion by large segments of society because of the racist applications for which they have often been used. He nevertheless concluded that testing was, and should continue

⁴⁰Ibid., p. 90.

to be, a legitimate concern in working with minority students.⁴¹

The fourth measure used in the ABC study to evaluate the academic success of its students was their college entrance rates. By June of 1971, 1,011 ABC students had graduated from independent schools. Of this number 99 percent entered college. Of the 20 percent of students who dropped out of ABC schools to return to their local public schools, a lower percentage entered college; thus, 94 percent of all students who entered the ABC program eventually enrolled in college. These figures compare very favorably with college-going rates of students enrolled in other compensatory programs. College attendance rates of participants in the Upward Bound program, for example, were from 45 to 50 percent. ABC students also surpassed the college attendance rate of high school students nationwide, which in 1972 was approximately 55 to 60 percent. Most importantly for the ABC program, however, was the statistical significance of its participants' college entrance rates, compared to those of the control group of students similar in background and ability to ABC students who attended public schools at home. In the control group 62 percent of the students entered college. Therefore, the net effect of the ABC program was to increase the proportion of students who entered college by 32 percent (from 62 to 94 percent).

The ABC program, in addition to getting more students into college, had an effect on the type of college attended by students. Using Dailey's Taxonomy, an index which rates universities according to their level of selectivity and prestige, Perry found that ABC

⁴¹For Perry's discussion of testing, see Ibid., pp. 73-95.

students entered more selective colleges than most of their peers. Twenty-one percent of the ABC students enrolled in colleges in Dailey's most selective group, as compared with 3 percent of all students nationwide entering such colleges. Only 22 percent of ABC students, as compared with 68 percent of students nationwide, attended colleges in Dailey's fourth and least selective group. Compared with the control group of black students who remained in their local public schools, 62 percent of the ABC students attended more selective colleges. From these results it can be concluded that ABC has been very successful in accomplishing one of the major goals of its founders, namely the channeling of students into prestigious colleges.⁴²

2. Self-esteem. According to the noted black psychiatrist, Dr. Alvin Poussaint,

. . . stronger self-concept is associated with a greater willingness to risk self-expression, certainly a prerequisite to achievement . . . since the self-esteem of black youth is generally more negative than that of whites and may motivate them not to perform optimally, the black youth clearly competes at a disadvantage with white youth.⁴³

Since the ABC staff agreed with Dr. Poussaint that a strong self-concept was an important ingredient for academic and professional success, an important part of Perry's attitudinal study of ABC students sought to discover whether participation in the program increased,

⁴²Ibid., pp. 96-110.

⁴³Ibid., p. 130, citing Alvin Poussaint and Carolyn Atkinson, "Black Youth and Motivation," Journal of Negro Education, 37 (Summer 1968):246.

decreased, or had no effect on the self-esteem of participants. To evaluate their feelings of self-esteem, Perry asked ABC students to estimate their own intelligence and popularity in relation to their peers. Since very few people would probably indicate that they were below average in intelligence, Perry could not try to establish an absolute rating of self-esteem; rather he attempted to evaluate changes in degree of self-esteem during participation in the ABC program.

Both ABC sophomores and seniors were asked to respond to this question: "How bright do you think you are in comparison with all other students in your grade?" Of the sophomores, only 28 percent felt they were "above average" in intelligence, whereas 53 percent of the seniors rated themselves "above average." The self-esteem of the control group of white independent school students also increased from sophomore to senior year. The control group of black students who attended their local public schools, however, declined from 52 percent as sophomores to 43 percent as seniors in rating themselves "about average" in intelligence. Statistics from the METCO program, a Boston plan which busses inner city students to suburban schools, also showed a decrease in self-esteem among black students during participation in this particular intervention program.

In response to questions about their popularity with their classmates, ABC students in general considered themselves to be quite popular. Although there was no significant difference between the responses of ABC sophomores and seniors, students in both classes rated their own personal popularity higher than either the non-ABC

independent school students or the black controls rated their own popularity. Thirty-six percent of the ABC students reported that they were among the most popular students in their schools, with only 9 percent reporting that they were among the least popular. Measured by their assessment of their intelligence and popularity, the self-esteem of ABC students appeared to be quite high and was not reduced by their experiences in independent schools.⁴⁴

3. Fate control. As described by Perry fate control is the degree to which one feels he is guiding his own destiny. The directors of ABC saw as one of their major goals helping students develop strong fate control, since this was seen as being correlated with academic and personal achievement. To measure this attitude, students were asked to agree or disagree with a series of statements related to the concept of fatalism. An example of the type of question used is the following: "Good luck is more important than hard work for success." ABC sophomores' sense of fate control was significantly lower than that of their white classmates. By the time they were seniors, however, their sense of fate control had increased to the level of their white classmates. The control group of black students attending public schools at home had the same fate control scores as ABC students, both as sophomores and as seniors. The increase in degree of fate control cannot then be clearly attributed to participation in the ABC program. Perry did feel, however, it very significant that ABC students' sense of fate control did not decrease when in contact with the white world

⁴⁴Perry, A Better Chance, pp. 130-133.

of independent schools. He even suggested that the control of environment expressed by ABC students was perhaps more durable than that of their peers at home; since the ABC students, unlike the students at home, had retained a strong sense of fate control in an environment of greater academic challenge and in which they were in a racial minority.⁴⁵

4. Racial relations at school. When the ABC program was founded in 1963, the mood of the country, verbally at least, was inclined towards racial integration. The founders of ABC hoped that their program would serve as a transition for black students from their mostly segregated home communities to an integrated society. It was expected that graduates of the ABC program, hopefully having had a successful integration experience in boarding schools, would become the chief proponents of an integrationist ideology and would take leadership roles in the integrated society towards which it was felt the country was progressing. Perry's actual findings in the area of race relations in independent schools were less optimistic than the founders of the program might have hoped for in the mid-sixties. Those who were disappointed by these findings, however, should probably attribute them more to the unrealistic expectations of integrationists, rather than to a basic fault in the program itself. Integrationists, in their desire for the independent schools to prove that integration was possible, did not understand the deep seated nature of racial prejudice in America nor did they anticipate the growth of black pride which was to occur in the years immediately following the

⁴⁵Ibid., pp. 136-140.

founding of ABC.

Perry found that instead of increasing integrationist attitudes, the independent school experience increased separatist or anti-integrationist tendencies among many ABC students. Based on responses to certain sections of his attitudinal questionnaire, Perry constructed a "separatism index." Using this index, he found that ABC seniors were statistically significantly more "separatist" than ABC tenth graders. The reverse, however, was true of the control group of black students who attended public schools at home and who had experienced less daily contact with whites. The separatist index of the control group of white independent school students, initially lower (theoretically more integrationist) than ABC students, did not change from sophomore to senior year. It should be recalled, however, that because of their small number, the burden of integration rested with blacks in independent schools. Whites could be in favor of integration and yet never have any personal contact with blacks in their independent schools.

Although the separatism index of ABC students increased during participation in the program, this did not always indicate that there was a uniform decline in racial relations. For example, fewer ABC seniors (30 percent) than sophomores (41 percent) reported that in their schools blacks and whites "like each other;" yet more seniors (80 percent) than sophomores (69 percent) reported that the races "learn from each other." Likewise, whereas more black seniors (61 percent) than sophomores (44 percent) reported having experienced a personal overt act of prejudice in their school within the one year period before completing the questionnaire; only 9 percent of these

same seniors reported that the races in their schools "fought each other" and only 20 percent said that the races "put each other down."

In spite of their "separatist" attitudes, the actual behavior of ABC students indicated that they did not shun completely interracial contacts in their schools. (Given the small percentage of blacks in any one independent school, it would probably have been impossible for a black student to avoid all out of class contacts with whites.) At the same time that "separatist" attitudes increased, the actual contact between the races increased. As sophomores, 68 percent of the ABC students reported that they "spent most of their free time with black students." By their senior year this percentage had decreased to 57 percent. In a similar fashion the percentage of black students spending most of their free time with white students rose from 5 percent as sophomores to 17 percent as seniors.

A subsection of Perry's report on racial relations in independent schools dealt with the alienation felt by ABC students. These findings are particularly interesting for the present investigation since they attempt to measure the attitudes of black students with respect to the totality of their independent school experience. From his questionnaire Perry constructed an "alienation from school index" for both ABC students and his control groups. Using this index, he found that ABC students, both sophomores and seniors, were significantly more alienated than their white independent school classmates. Much of this alienation seemed to have been caused by the culture shock ABC students experienced upon entering independent schools.

When asked if ABC should "continue to place students in private

boarding schools," 99 percent of ABC sophomores and 96 percent of the seniors agreed. However, 90 percent of the sophomores responded "definitely yes" whereas only 65 percent of the seniors were as enthusiastic (9 percent of the sophomores and 31 percent of the seniors responded "probably yes"). When asked if they personally would choose to attend their independent school if they had it to do over again, approximately half of the ABC students agreed; 30 percent were unsure; and 20 percent disagreed. The responses to this question were approximately the same for both sophomores and seniors; female ABC students, however, were less positive about their independent school experience than males. This sexual difference was statistically significant among seniors. A somewhat higher percentage of whites than blacks would choose to attend their schools again.

Finally, students were asked: "If we could assume all schools are equally good, would you ideally prefer going to school in a private boarding school or in your own community?" Among the control group of black students attending public schools at home, 49 percent of both sophomores and seniors would have chosen to go to school in their own community. Among ABC students a significantly higher percentage of seniors (54 percent) than sophomores (35 percent) would have preferred attending school in their home community.⁴⁶

5. Relationship to home. From its inception, ABC was criticized by those who saw in the program a mechanism for draining from the black community its future leaders. These critics felt that once

⁴⁶Ibid., pp. 141-175.

ABC students had spent years in independent boarding schools and private white colleges, they would become so alienated from their homes and background that it would be impossible for them to use their education to the benefit of the black community. Although at the time of the ABC study it was too early to determine where and how ABC graduates would eventually lead their adult lives, Perry attempted to discover if there was any developing evidence to support the "brain drain" type criticism of the program. His findings in this area were incomplete and inconclusive.

Many ABC students felt that their attitudes and values were different than those of their families and friends even before they left home for boarding school. During their years away in school, their alienation from home tended to increase; many felt, however, that their physical separation from friends and family served to develop in them a greater appreciation of their home communities. In response to every question in Perry's questionnaire concerned with relationship to home community, ABC seniors indicated a greater degree of alienation than sophomores. While 28 percent of sophomores agreed with the statement, "I sometimes feel that I have cut myself off from my community," 49 percent of the graduating ABC seniors felt this. White independent school students' alienation from home also increased while in boarding school but the increase was less than that of ABC students. In responding to the same statement 35 percent of white independent school sophomores felt that they had cut themselves off from their home communities and 40 percent of the white seniors felt this. Unfortunately,

Perry did not question his black control group attending public school at home on their degree of alienation from family and friends. It is therefore impossible to determine whether the increased alienation felt by ABC students was the result of normal maturation or whether it was caused by attendance at independent schools.

In spite of their increasing alienation from home, the vast majority of ABC students made conscious efforts to maintain their racial and cultural heritage while in independent schools. Eighty-five percent of black ABC seniors were members of Afro-American Societies, whereas only 41 percent of the black control group at home belonged to such organizations. (Of course, since they lived in black communities, the control group had less pressing need to belong to organizations to preserve their racial identity.)⁴⁷

When asked to comment on their career goals, most ABC students expressed a determination to be of service to others in poverty. The group of former ABC students who were already pursuing careers at the time of Perry's study was too small to allow meaningful conclusions to be based on their post-school activities. In 1972, most of the early graduates of ABC schools were still in college or graduate school. Of the twenty-three who were working and about whom ABC had information, the majority were employed in social services areas. Of the thirty-five in graduate schools, the largest single group (9) was studying law, followed by six who were pursuing medical careers.⁴⁸ Although

⁴⁷Ibid., pp. 176-185.

⁴⁸Ibid., pp. 126-127.

it is impossible to say what professions are more valuable to the black community than others, nor can one determine the reasons why ABC students chose one career over another, these initial statistics do indicate that a sizeable proportion of ABC graduates were pursuing careers which are normally considered to fall in the broad area of service to others.

Summarizing the totality of the findings in his study, Perry observed:

In the face of the scepticism which has recently been articulated by many studies regarding the impact of educational programs, the ABC results provide conclusive evidence of substantial impact.⁴⁹

The most visible positive contribution of the ABC program was in the area of academic performance. ABC students competed successfully in independent schools with their more affluent white classmates, had an aggregate lower attrition rate, and achieved the primary goal of the program, entrance into competitive colleges. Compared to a control group of students from similar backgrounds who did not participate in ABC, the program increased college entrance rates by 32 percent, and given national statistics the program probably doubled the long-term college graduation rate of the type of student with which it worked. One disappointment for the directors of ABC in the academic area was the fact that in general students in the program did not achieve one of the anticipated goals of the founders, namely, increased standardized test scores.

⁴⁹Ibid., p. 219.

In the area of attitudes, Perry's findings were generally inconclusive and occasionally disappointing with respect to the goals of the program. While the long-range aspirations of ABC students and their sense of fate-control increased during their stay in independent schools, these attitudes also increased among the control group who attended schools at home. The self-esteem of ABC students also increased while in the program. Attitudinal findings which were disappointing for the staff of ABC were in the area of race relations. Contrary to the integrationist goals of the program, participants at the end of their independent school experience expressed more separatist attitudes than the control group who remained in schools at home. Participation in the program also seemed to increase the estrangement of ABC students from their home communities; however, they overwhelmingly made efforts not to lose their cultural and racial identity and there is no conclusive evidence that they became "whitewashed" by their contact with independent schools.

Black Reflections on Independent Schools

Unlike the major studies written by whites on the subject and reviewed in the preceding pages, black statements about independent schools have generally been less statistically oriented and are usually presented in the form of personal accounts of experiences within a particular school. Most of these statements have appeared either in the Independent School Bulletin or in the alumni magazines and newspapers of individual schools. Whereas the articles appearing in the

Independent School Bulletin are easily located; those published specifically for the constituents of a particular school are more difficult to find since there is no central catalog listing these publications and rarely can they be found in libraries outside the schools in which they were published. Articles of this latter type were gathered by the investigator in the following manner: (1) they were collected by him over the past five years in his visits to independent schools, (2) persons interested in this research project forwarded them to him, or (3) they came from the personal collection of William L. Dandridge, NAIS Staff Associate in charge of minority affairs since 1969.

The general tone of the black accounts of their independent school experiences, particular at the student level, is one of suffering, anguish, and hostility. In the vast majority of cases these articles treat the negative aspects of the independent school experience. Although this negative tone may be attributed to a trait of human nature which finds it easier to criticize than to praise, it is more likely, given the pervasive scope of the criticism, based on actual shortcomings in many of the ways independent schools have related to black students. Even if one argues from the premise that these criticisms only represent the feelings of a discontented few, it is nevertheless this "few" who are the most articulate blacks in the schools and it is their statements which have attracted attention. School administrators have had to deal with these criticisms, even when they might have felt they were not representative of the opinion

of the majority of black students.

Throughout most of the black comments on the independent schools, several themes occur time and time again. In the following pages the content of these statements is summarized according to the principle themes they develop: (1) assimilation versus retention of black identity, (2) social life, (3) academic programs, (4) black adults, and, finally, (5) a pluralistic environment.

Assimilation versus retention of black identity. As previously mentioned in this paper, during the early days of independent school desegregation little thought was given to the potential psychological trauma inherent in the situation for black students. Since most schools were either ignorant of black cultural traditions or denied the legitimacy of black life styles, it was assumed that black students would readily adapt to the upper middle class white mores that permeated the social and intellectual structures of the independent schools. Blacks were expected to come to the schools and "act just as white as they can."⁵⁰ Any deviation from traditional prep school norms, especially if they were viewed as holdovers from a student's "uncultured" past, were suspect.

Black students are criticized for our
writing styles and speech, our walking
is ridiculed, our clothes draw sarcastic
comments, our hair unwarranted concern,

⁵⁰ Exonian, 22 May 1968, p. 8. Special supplement of the newspaper of Phillips Exeter (New Hampshire) Academy devoted to black students in the school.

and all spontaneous activity is viewed as showboating.⁵¹

Under these conditions most of the first black students in independent schools let themselves be assimilated into the customs and traditions of the institutions. This was easier for some than for others. Those students who came from the black middle class, as many of the first students did, had often grown up in homes where they had been taught to ape the mores of white society. Many of them belonged to that small stratum of the black population who in their attempts to "make it" in America imitated what they considered the refinements of white society. These were the black families who held debutant balls, organized fancy social clubs, and attached greater status to lighter skin color. On independent school campuses these students consciously avoided contact with other blacks, if there happened to be any others in attendance, and in general received positive reinforcement from their schools for their "white" behavior.

In the middle sixties blacks from poverty backgrounds began to arrive on campuses. These students were not in any way accustomed to the social mores of independent schools nor to the practices of the black middle class. Their adjustment to the independent school scene was more difficult than that of their black middle class predecessors. Because of their small numbers, however, they could not exert any great influence on the structure and traditions of their schools.

⁵¹Lance R. Odden, "Far From Home: A Study of Black Education in the Independent School," Bulletin of the Connecticut Association of Independent Schools 4 (October 1970):4.

Either they adjusted to the school and its upper middle class values and attempted to play the roles assigned them or they returned home. The comments of two black students in different schools illustrate some of the tensions that were beginning to be felt at this stage of independent school desegregation:

It is as though we are "on display"--like being in a cage. We are brought here for a convenience, so the school can say: "Our school is integrated; we have black students on our campus. If you see black students, don't get upset, because they are going to 'fit' into our community and acquire our habits, and in a little while you won't even know that they are black."⁵²

Choate is a "White Tornado" in the way that it takes in students and visitors to the community and bleaches them WHITE! . . .

The very ideals that prep schools hold high are those of the "White Tornado!" Some are: a high degree of competition academically and athletically, and the belief that everyone must have the same robot-like personality. The student must smile on signal and "sir" the "master" and graciously speak with his wife pretending to enjoy her "scintillating" conversation.

. . .

The "Tornado" allows little room for individualism. This affects EVERY person on campus. It affects the Black student much more, however, to be taken from an entirely different environment and thrust in by the "White Tornado" is quite a change to go through, whether in four years or 40.⁵³

⁵²Linda R. McLean, "The Black Student in the White Independent School," Independent School Bulletin 28 (February 1969):69.

⁵³Emory Carr, "Choate as a 'White Tornado'," Choate News, 27 February 1971. Mr. Carr, member of Choate's (Wallingford, Connecticut) class of 1972 was President of the school's Afro-American Society when this article was written.

When black students first began to express these types of concerns, white faculty and administration reaction was usually pervasively negative. A white administrator in an independent school during this period of black awakening reported his observations of the typical reactions of most of his colleagues:

"Blacks should appreciate the opportunity they have been given at our school." "Black identity is bad; it is reverse racism."
 "Black students should be glad to learn middle class behavior in order to succeed in the world." "Black students are over-sensitive about being in the minority. If they would just calm down and accept things, everything would be o.k."⁵⁴

Faced with this opposition to any expression of their blackness, usually far from home and cut off from the supportive culture of the black community, with no adult blacks to turn to for guidance, and few white educators sensitive to their special identity problems, black students in independent schools throughout the fifties and most of the sixties had no alternative but to shape themselves into the mold fashioned by their schools. Thus the prevailing mood on most campuses in this period was calm and to the casual observer it appeared that "integration" was progressing smoothly and successfully. Blacks learned the rules of the prep school game, kept their personal frustrations to themselves, and generally achieved brilliant records in every area of school life.

. . . [black] students generally felt that as long as they fulfilled the roles white educators expected them to play, their color

⁵⁴Odden, "Far From Home," p. 4.

was not an open issue in independent schools. Thus black students felt called upon to be good athletes, to serve as black resources in every class--and even for the whole school--and to parrot middle class values--they were asked to be Uncle Toms! Most of all black students felt obligated to be grateful for the experience offered them.⁵⁵

As the 1960's drew to a close there was a dramatic shift in the mood of black students on independent school campuses. Schools which had almost come to take for granted the relative docility of their "Negroes" suddenly found themselves confronted with outspoken, even rebellious, black students challenging the schools' social traditions and demanding a voice in the direction of their education. Blacks who previously had accepted the goal of assimilation into white society were now threatening to pull out of their schools unless moves were made to create a pluralistic society in which individual and group differences would be respected.

The seeds of this black "revolt" had been planted in many fields, both within the schools and in the larger society beyond. The harvest of these frustrations can be pinpointed in time to the year 1968 and the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. Most schools in reviewing the history of their desegregation see the traumatic event of this date as a turning point in their relationships with black students.

In 1968, within the schools, the numbers of black students were being dramatically increased. For the first time blacks were being admitted in sufficient numbers to allow them to become a distinct and

⁵⁵Ibid.

visible community within the larger one of the total school. When there were only two or three black students in a school of a few hundred, the effects of their presence were minimal. In most cases, as they were consciously spread thinly about the campus, blacks were hardly noticed if they fitted the white stereotyped roles expected of them. As the percentage of black students in a total school population increased, however, various psychological and behavioral options became more available to them. Behaviorally, they were now able to contribute something to the schools as a significant group: their numbers permitted them to share the black experience with their classmates. Psychologically, their increased number on campus allowed them to feel more comfortable about "being themselves." Feeling more secure with their own personal identity, they could share their mutual feelings and reactions to life at school. They could be mutually supportive or critical, encouraging or restraining, to their fellow black students. One student very aptly described the effect of increased numbers of blacks on the general attitudes of blacks in independent schools:

When you have a few Negroes in a white school, it is hard, but when you have forty, you don't have to walk around acting white. With numbers you can have "friends." You don't have to change your identity. I've been suppressing blackness too long. It depends on the number of Negroes in a school. Black people have an attitude and a way of relating to one another that is familiar and feels good, and they don't want to lose it. . . . It is about time black people were proud of it.⁵⁶

At the same time that the number of black students on individual

⁵⁶McLean, "The Black Student in the White Independent School," p. 70.

campuses increased, so too did the type of black student enrolled change. For the first time in many schools, blacks from poverty backgrounds were beginning to outnumber those from the black middle class. In the majority, these students could set the tone of the black community on campus. As they had little or no experience with the conventions of middle class life, they were more critical than had been their middle class black predecessors in attacking the traditional values of independent schools. One insignificant but revealing and amusing example of how these black students felt about the sacred social traditions of their schools is seen in the following comment: "Why, can you imagine poor folks sitting down to dinner in coats and ties?"⁵⁷ The economically disadvantaged blacks were able in most cases to get their more financially secure black classmates to question some of the values of the schools. Moreover, in many instances the middle class blacks were all too relieved to be able to drop the mask of middle class respectability and find some real meaning to their existence.

In the world outside the independent schools the leadership and philosophy of black struggle was changing. This affected the mood of blacks within the schools as well. The bullet that had killed Martin Luther King, Jr., also to a great extent wounded the integrationist ideals he espoused during his leadership of the Civil Rights movement. King's assassination was viewed by many blacks as definitive proof of what many had sensed all along, namely, that no amount of peaceful demonstration and discussion would essentially alter the racist nature

⁵⁷Odden, "Far From Home," p. 4.

of American society. Increasingly integration came to be seen by many as another ploy used to subjugate blacks. Blacks could tire themselves out assimilating into and adapting the values of the white majority culture; but even the most successful imitators of white ways could not completely escape the pervasive nature of racism. New black leaders came to the realization that an essential aspect of the collective American national character was a respect for power: other ethnic and national groups had become successful in America, not because they waited until the nation allowed them to play a role, but rather through aggressive assertion of their own political and economic strength. If blacks ever hoped to achieve similar acceptance in American society, they too would have to establish their own power base. Under the rubric of "black power" black leaders encouraged their followers to take their destiny into their own hands and demand their share of the American pie. Strength for this new strategy and philosophy would be gathered from the unique cultural heritage of blacks, rather than from white middle class values. Independent school black students attracted to this new philosophy employed many of its tenets in their struggle to make their schools more relevant to them.

Thus, beginning around 1968, in independent school newspapers, alumni bulletins, classrooms, assembly and chapel programs, blacks began to strongly express their concerns. The following excerpts from a speech delivered in chapel by a black student at Phillips Exeter Academy (New Hampshire) is quoted in some detail because it so eloquently typifies the change in attitude and the tenor of the

comments that were being voiced by blacks in independent schools across the nation.

I AM THE NEW BLACK. . . . I want neither to be your enemy, nor your friend. I don't want your love nor your pity, nor your guilt, nor your fear. I demand only that you respect me. . . .

. . . Last year I was to eventually become a responsible American citizen. . . . I was to become another Martin Luther King, a Senator Brooke, a Bill Cosby, or a Thurgood Marshall. I was to turn the revolution away from riots, and white-hate, and a deliberate separate-but-equal policy. And I agreed with your definition of me. I agreed that I should be a non-violent leader, an American first and a Black second, and that it was my duty to help assimilate my people into your society as lawfully and as non-violently as possible.

The fact that I once accepted your definition of my role as a Black nauseates me. I see in your definition, and in my agreement, a continuation of what Blacks in this country have been trying to do since the Civil War; a continuation of the effort to teach Blacks how to act "white," and at the same time teach them to deny the legitimacy of their own culture.

As the New Black, I shall not tolerate the teaching of other Blacks to be industrious, Puritanical, and relatively unemotional--as you are; for I feel that we, as human beings, have much more to lose by becoming white than by remaining true to ourselves, true to our culture, and true to our Blackness. . . .

I, the New Black, acknowledge my blackness, and the improbability of my ever becoming respected in your society by getting white. I, the New Black, not only accept but agree with your classification of all of us, regardless of class, as blacks. We have our blackness in common and we are united by your definition of what blacks in America are. Our

acknowledgment of our cultural bond and our demand that you respect us is called Black Power. . . .

Blacks should not come to Exeter and stay away from each other, as they did last year. We no longer have to suck up to you; or listen to your music. We hope that one day we won't have to dance with your girls. We are going to sit together in the dining halls, and say hello to each other across the quad (which we felt was wrong last year), and act our natural black selves, everywhere. We hope that you will overcome your sickness, and view our behavior not as degenerate, but less inhibited than yours. We are not putting on the show for you; we are not trying to reveal to you how loud we can be, or how sexy our dancing is, or how comical we are. The fact that you sometimes stare at us and view our behavior as "showing our color" or acting the typical nigger, is part of your sickness; which forces you to assume that white is right, and that black behavior is wrong, or somehow too wild, or too free. We are at Exeter to obtain knowledge of what is outside our culture. During this process, and when we become leaders, we will derive our strength not from your friendship, or your brains, or your money; but from ourselves.⁵⁸

Once the wall of silence of the assimilation years was broken, blacks flooded the schools with expressions of their personal and group concerns. One major criticism was the isolation, both physical and spiritual, of independent schools from the larger black community. Many black students felt that this developed in them an almost schizophrenic personality, with separate school and home components. As adolescents, the black student, like his white peers, are preoccupied

⁵⁸Theophus H. Smith, "I am The New Black," Exonian (special supplement), 22 May 1968, p. 7.

with a search for identity. The black student, however, because he is constantly moving back and forth between the white world of the independent school and his black community finds his "identity crisis" compounded. Regardless of how strongly the black independent school student attempts to retain his blackness as part of his identity, his experience within the school renders him suspect in his home neighborhood and often sets up barriers between him, his family, and former friends.

For the first few days of my return home, I always feel as though I am a stranger in my all-black neighborhood, although I know more than sixty percent of the neighborhood families. In other words, I find that I have become assimilated by the white society that I have come in contact with at Taft. The thick Southern accent that my friends and neighbors speak with seems crude and uncultured. I am reluctant at first to eat the mustard greens, neck bones, corn bread and baked sweet potatoes that my mother cooks for me. . . .

When I visit my old high school and see my friends, I feel as though there is an invisible wall between us. We find it extremely difficult to communicate. . . . As I speak, their eyes search my face, examining me as though I were a new animal that had been placed in the zoo. I and my topics are foreign to them. . . . We stare at each other for a moment, and I can feel the invisible walls closing around me, locking me from them.

I often ask myself why I feel this way about the black society in which I was raised. . . . Why have I changed? . . . white society unconsciously tends to mold the black man into a creature that will partly fit into white society and not be able to fit into his native society at all. . . .

. . . Thus, throughout his stay at Taft, the black student has to fight to maintain his black identity in a "factory" which turns out white, plastic men.⁵⁹

At the same time that blacks were demanding that schools provide the kind of environment in which they could retain their racial and cultural identity as black people, they also voiced concern over the free development of their unique individual identities within the school black group. Many schools were confused by what to them seemed like contradictory desires on the part of their black students. The schools, unlike the students, saw as mutually exclusive identity as an individual and identity as a black. This false dichotomy set up by the schools heightened the sense of frustration many black students felt.

You see yourself as an individual, but the school sees you as "black students"--plural. We're supposed to be the authority on blackness, to answer all questions, to fit all stereotypes. We're supposed to fit a role. It's hard to act as an individual. . . . But I'm also a person, I want to be alone some--not always dumping around being Black Information to the whites--or locked in with the other black students, talking about racial identity all the time. . . . In the desire to make everybody equal, to treat everybody just the same, with no exceptions, they're strangling me!

They see you as Black Student #16, not as an individual. . . . [I don't want to] change to fit white people's culture--to fit into their mold. But we have a hard time keeping

⁵⁹Wardell Bowie, "The Two Lives of a Black at Taft," written as a theme in an English III class at the Taft School (Watertown, Connecticut) by this native of Mississippi and member of the class of 1971.

out of their mold--their ways--and not falling into their stereotypes of what we "really" are. Yet in some ways we want to fit some of those stereotypes--to come on as a black person. But as me, too.

Other kids or even teachers will say, like, "Anne, now tell us what it's really like . . ."
--it's really an insult--they mean what is it like to be black-poor-oppressed; and when you answer them, they want to be sure you never criticize them. . . . I have no right to be the representative of the black community. Nobody elected me.⁶⁰

These statements by three students in three different schools are indicative of what was a tendency in many schools to attempt to determine what role black students should play. When integration was the national mode, schools expected their black students to assimilate themselves into the mainstream of the schools and not exhibit any vestiges of a black life style. When the image of the black presented in the mass media changed from integrationist to black power advocate, many schools jumped on the bandwagon and expected their students to exhibit the external trappings of the "black militant." Thus we see schools in the early seventies classifying students who did not sport "Afro" haircuts nor join the Afro-Am Club or who did not sit at the "black table" as somehow suspect and not "really" black. What the schools often failed to realize was that they expected their black students to all behave according to the popular notion of the moment of what was considered the "in" black image. They unconsciously saw

⁶⁰David Mallery, "Black Reflections on the Independent Schools: Four Black Students Talk about School," Independent School Bulletin 30 (December 1970):11-13.

themselves as the definer of blackness without any regard to the personal preferences of individual blacks. The black students probably resented most whites in the schools dictating what roles they should play--not actually living the roles--the stereotyping, not the actual stereotypes.

Social life. Social life for black students in independent schools has always been a concern, although the situation has improved in recent years. When black students first entered independent schools, most of the institutions were single-sex and meeting members of the opposite sex from other schools often required elaborate preparations. Although white students suffered under this system, many of them had at least had some previous experience with all male or all female environments in their private elementary and junior high schools. Since most of the black students came to the independent schools from public institutions (almost all of which were coeducational), separation of the sexes was a new and often trying experience for them. Many black students reported that they missed their previous school environments where relations between the sexes were more normal and spontaneous. As one student in a girls' school reported: "The most damaging thing is that all-girls business. The opportunity to meet people outside is so limited."⁶¹

Before the mid and late sixties most independent school social functions were highly structured and organized affairs. Certain schools traditionally held joint social events only with certain other

⁶¹Ibid., p. 12.

schools. When these events were to occur, usually the social chairmen from each school (and this position was one of the most sought after in a school since one could fix up his or her friends with the "best dates" in the other school) got together and assigned dates. When the dance actually took place students were usually required to remain with their assigned dates for the entire evening, regardless of compatibility. One problem for black students with this type of activity was that often there were no black students at the other schools with which their school planned social events. If there were black students, their number was usually so small that one was always seeing the same people over and over again. White students, since often they came from the same social milieu, usually knew at least a few students in practically every other prep school. Black students may have known a few students in other prep schools, but often they were not allowed to arrange social events with these students, simply because the two schools were not ones which traditionally sponsored joint activities. Schools were very reluctant to let any of their students form social relationships with students outside the traditional approved channels. When black students requested permission to hold an activity with black students from another school, it was often viewed as a "special privilege" and frowned upon. A student in a girls' boarding school summed up the frustrations many blacks felt with the traditional way in which schools handled social activities:

There's so few people you can meet here--
or at the boys' school we're affiliated
with. And the rules are so strict that

we can't associate with black kids outside of the school.⁶²

As discussed earlier in this paper some schools tried to better the social situation for black students by arranging interracial dates. This often proved to be generally unsatisfactory for all concerned, not always because the students objected, but because of the trepidation and embarrassment with which the schools approached the issue, and because of the curiosity evoked in other students when faced with an interracial couple. As a consequence, in the early days of independent school desegregation blacks had little or no social life. According to most observers this was usually more frustrating for black females than males: the social norms of the time decreed that females should be less aggressive than males in establishing social relationships, and also historically in America interracial dating had been more common between black males and white females than between white males and black females. Furthermore, during that period of independent school desegregation when assimilation was in vogue, black males in their attempt to "become white" often rejected black females. Linda McLean, formerly on the staff of ABC, was specifically involved in counseling black girls with their adjustment to independent schools. She commented on the difficult situation many of the girls experienced:

If the Negro boys don't date them, most often, neither do the white boys, and so their social lives remain miserable.

Fortunately, with the emergence of black consciousness . . . and with the meetings in Afro-American societies, the

⁶²Ibid.

situation has begun to change. Now, the young men are happy to date the "soul sisters," and have begun to elevate them to a position of respect and admiration. However, schools should be aware of the particularly difficult time which black girls face in having their social needs taken care of. It should be remembered that while academic pursuit is a student's first aim in attending school, if your social life is on the down-swing, it is difficult to concentrate on academics. After all, when there is nothing to look forward to on weekends, the sense of motivation and urgency to complete work often diminishes. Why finish all of your work and then have the entire weekend free to look at the walls and watch the black boys going out with the white girls.⁶³

In areas other than dating, blacks also were critical of social life in independent schools. Blacks, especially those from poverty backgrounds, found that they were not interested in many of the things their white classmates enjoyed. White students spent a lot of time talking about their latest vacation trip, their summer homes, their camps, their orthodontists, their trust funds, their parents' business ventures; blacks--from backgrounds where there were no vacations, no summer homes, no camps--thus had few topics of conversation in common with their white peers.

I'd just bring some of my own music to parties. And I picked up some of their music. We each gave and took some. Music was one place we could get together, each with our own. But in a lot of social talk, I just didn't need

⁶³ McLean, "The Black Student in the White Independent School," p. 71.

it--I wouldn't be interested in those ski weekends, or all the talk about hair curlers and nail polish.⁶⁴

Black students also remarked that the generation gap in white families seemed to be more pronounced than in black families. As part of their culture, blacks have kept close family ties. The extended family--including grandparents, aunts and uncles, and cousins--still exists in black communities, although it seems to be fast disappearing in white society, especially among the upper middle class. Blacks also had been taught to show more respect for members of their families than they thought their white peers showed. Many black students found it shocking to hear the way in which some of their white classmates talked about their families.

The kids couldn't seem to accept that I couldn't fit into their things and didn't want to--their music, dancing, talk about how dumb their parents were--that I didn't want to accept their culture.⁶⁵

I wouldn't want to change places with these girls because I like my values much more. Many of these girls come here because their families don't want them at home. They are only interested in how much money they will get when their relatives die, and they don't care about their parents. When my grandmother died, that was a real loss to my family, and we really missed her. These girls don't care about their families or parents.⁶⁶

⁶⁴Mallery, "Black Reflections on the Independent School," p. 12.

⁶⁵Ibid.

⁶⁶McLean, "The Black Student in the White Independent School," p. 72.

Many black students also found it difficult to relate to what they considered to be the immaturity of their white classmates. Several black students, especially those who had grown up in large urban centers, had been very independent before coming to boarding school. They were well versed in the life of the streets: many of them had to be in order to survive. Students from this type of background often found dormitory life rather silly: the petty rules, the hazing, and the "cat and mouse" games played by students and dorm faculty. As one black student observed, even the white protests against the regimentation of boarding school life were all part of the "prep school game" to which blacks just could not relate: the "boys will be boys" game that the schools publicly frowned upon but yet actually seemed to promote. Faculty, for example, would berate a student for trying to sneak out of the dorm after hours, but then joke about it with his colleagues the next day in the teachers' lounge; or the headmaster who would gleefully recount the antics of past students at alumni reunions.

It's just that it's so silly in that dorm--the average prep school student seems so immature--they bitch about the rules and throw water balloons. The kids who do all that can't say they can't get into "prep school society." They're in it. And it isn't a matter of money--it's whether you like that silly stuff. I know I'd never want it.⁶⁷

The black students in day schools, not being dependent on school events for all their socializing, were more positive than boarding school students in describing their social life at school.

⁶⁷Mallery, "Black Reflections on the Independent School," p. 12.

It was easy for me to be in the middle of the class social life and stay and still feel black. For one thing, there were other black students, including three from Chester that I knew before. Also, if I got tired of things, I could hop back to Chester when I needed to. I'm sorry for a friend of mine in a boarding school-- he can't split when he needs to. I could-- but I'd come back, and being with the kids in the class was really it--it was the best thing about being at this school, and I wouldn't have missed it.⁶⁸

With the formation of Afro-American societies at many independent schools in the late 1960's, the social situation for black students began to improve. These societies, usually patterned after similar organizations being established at the same time by blacks in colleges, have varied in their effectiveness and purposes, spanning the spectrum from mere social clubs in some schools to activism for radical change in a few others. When black students first requested permission (this has been required in all cases) from their schools to form societies, they usually encountered strong opposition from administration and faculty. Most of the opposition centered around the issue of segregation. Schools said that it was inconceivable, immoral, and probably illegal for them to allow an all black organization in an "integrated" school. In order to win approval for their societies, in some schools blacks were required to open up membership to white students. Even where whites are not prohibited, however, they have rarely chosen to join. At other schools, societies played down whatever radical intentions they may have had and emphasized publicly, at

⁶⁸Ibid.

least, certain educational goals in order to secure approval of their charters.

Because students in independent schools are usually under the age of eighteen and legally minors, Afro-American societies have not been able to engage in many of the activities of their college prototypes, simply because they require permission from school administration to undertake any program. Thus, for example, to the knowledge of this investigator, no independent school Afro-American society has been successful in establishing a black dormitory residence, although a few of them have requested this in the past. In contrast, at the college level a black residence hall has usually been one of Afro-Am's top priorities.

Once schools have accepted the idea of allowing an Afro-Am, they have varied in the amount of financial and moral support they have given the group. Some schools budget money to their Afro-Ams as they do for other student organizations; whereas Afro-Ams in other schools exist solely on dues collected from members. Some schools provide a black advisor for the group, either from within the school's faculty or by securing a part-time person from a neighboring university. Minimal levels of support have amounted to simply providing a classroom where the society can hold meetings. Students in other schools, however, have been given lounges or rooms for their exclusive permanent use.

An examination of the constitutions of Afro-American societies in several independent schools shows that they hold in common one basic

purpose: to provide an organization through which blacks in a predominantly white environment can maintain their racial and cultural identity. The second most frequently mentioned purpose is to provide a means by which to educate the white community in all aspects of the black experience in America. Two other frequently mentioned goals have been: the combating of racism in schools and in American society at large; and the development of organizational and leadership skills which black students might not have the opportunity to learn in white dominated campus organizations.

The membership of the societies is always open to all black students in a school. The vast majority of blacks do participate in the society at one time or another during their career in a school. As in all organizations, however, there is only a small cadre of continuously active and dedicated workers, with the other students joining in mainly for the social events. Some societies have opened their membership to other minority students, particularly to Spanish speaking and Native American students. As previously stated, some societies have been required by their schools to allow whites to join. In one such case, whites were not allowed by the constitution of the society to ever constitute the majority and they were purposely accepted into the organization to learn (in an interesting reversal of roles) from first hand experience how to function in a predominantly black environment.

It is important that blacks will always constitute a majority of the organization, for this is indeed the whole purpose of the Afro-Exonians; that through its efforts and

through its existence whites will be able to learn what black culture is, and how normal black people live when they are not forced to become white. . . . Whereas black individuals find it almost natural to merge into all-white groups, whites are usually uncomfortable and ignored when facing a black group. They do not know how to act black.⁶⁹

The programs of the Afro-American societies have not always lived up to their stated purpose. Often this has been the case because the structure of independent schools does not allow students much free time for extra activities beyond the normal daily requirements of classes, homework, sports, and, in many schools, required work jobs. The societies have at one time or another, however, engaged in a variety of activities: bringing black speakers to campuses, tutoring each other and occasionally younger blacks in neighboring communities, community service projects, fund drives for civil rights organizations, black yearbooks, recruitment of black students for a school, black arts' festivals, etc. They have been almost universally successful in creating a social program for blacks as one alternative to the regular school program. There is usually not one weekend in the school year when some Afro-American society in New England schools is not sponsoring a dance to which societies from other schools are invited. Thus, if transportation is available (and many schools now provide this), black students have an opportunity to socialize with blacks in other schools quite regularly throughout the school year.

Few Afro-American societies have exhibited the "militancy" that

⁶⁹Exonian, 22 May 1968, p. 3.

schools feared when they were first formed. They have usually expressed their concerns with the schools through the normal channels. There is one reported example, however, of a society using force to extract a promise from its independent school to enroll more black students and hire more black teachers.⁷⁰

The comment of one black student, originally opposed to the formation of an Afro-American society in his school but subsequently one of its most ardent supporters, summarizes the general tone of student statements about these organizations:

From my sightings, they rate the highest of any other school organization in aiding maturity and education of the school and its students. . . . At the schools where there is no Black Student Union, there appears to be a general lack of communication between blacks and whites and even between blacks and other blacks. At the schools which do have unions, there is more of a cultural exchange of ideas and values.⁷¹

Academic programs. Most black students in describing their independent school experiences spoke positively of the academic program: their major complaints with their schools being in the areas of attitude and environment. Blacks generally felt the academic education they were receiving was far superior to what they had been accustomed to in public schools. If this had not been the case, moreover, given

⁷⁰"Fieldstone School Seized in Demand to Add Blacks," New York Times, 24 March 1970.

⁷¹Ernest C. Williams, Jr., "Compromise or Indifference: The Black Student and the Independent School," senior independent study project completed at Hopkins Grammar School, New Haven, 26 May 1971, p. 38.

their dissatisfaction with other aspects of independent schools, there would not have been any valid reason for them to leave the schools in their home communities. Students expressed enthusiasm for the dedication of their teachers and appreciation for the extra help given them in academic areas where they were having difficulties. They generally felt that there was no academic problem for which they could not receive help from some faculty member in their schools. Most of the students felt they spent much more time studying in independent schools than they had done in public schools, but that it was easier to study since the environment was set up for just this purpose. All of the students were in college preparatory programs and they were satisfied that academically their schools were preparing them for college.

Complaints that were voiced generally fell in the area of curriculum, specifically, the lack of materials dealing with blacks in social science and English courses. Many schools, however, were beginning to add separate black studies courses or integrating into the standard curriculum aspects of the black experience. Where these courses were already being offered, some students complained of a lack of black faculty to teach them.

Although they recognized that most of the courses they were taking were required for admission to college, many black students did feel that often their school programs were too "academic," with little regard for the humanistic side of learning.

The school's education is academic--it's mechanized. That's all we have to share with other kids. The school's idea of a good education and mine are so different.

Mine is to make a better world--here's what I want to say: I want to become a better person. School should help me do that. I want to contribute to people--black people--and all people. I want to learn things I can use to help people. I guess I want to gain respect--for me--so people'll listen, and then I can help. I want to learn to be a better individual--maybe learn to be a leader. But none of this is what school seems to be about.⁷²

Black adults. As explained in Chapter I of this paper (page 15) independent schools have made unbelievably slow progress in integrating black adults into their schools. The majority of the schools still have no black faculty members and only in the rarest of cases are there more than one or two black teachers in a single school. Moreover, recent events do not seem to indicate that there will be any dramatic increase in numbers of black teachers within the schools in the near future. The Minority Teacher Recruitment Program, for example, announced 188 faculty candidates to NAIS schools in the 1974 hiring season (80 with masters degrees and 6 with doctorates); only 10 were actually placed and 2 of these in public schools. Because of this poor employer response to the MTRP, it is currently being phased out as a full-time operation: it became too frustrating to its directors to recruit black teacher candidates, pleading the case for their need in independent schools, and then not have them hired by the schools.⁷³ Yet black students still cry out for black adults in their schools and

⁷²Mallery, "Black Reflections on the Independent School," p. 72.

⁷³Minority Teacher Recruitment Program, "Year End Report 1973-74," National Association of Independent Schools, Boston, 1974. (Mimeographed.)

schools still respond by saying they cannot find any.

The need for black teachers should be obvious, both for the role they would play in helping black students adjust to the independent school world, and also for the benefits they would bring to the total school population. Black students often find there are few white faculty members in their schools with whom they are comfortable enough to discuss their personal, social, and identity problems. Also, since the schools have as a goal the training of students for future leadership positions in society, it is imperative that black students have appropriate models with whom they can identify. If black students in their schools never see any functioning black adults in positions of responsibility, they might be left to assume that there is little reason for them to aspire to such positions. The white student, on the other hand, has the entire faculty and administration from which to choose role models. Linda McLean, in her position as itinerant counselor to ABC students, observed both these needs in her school visits:

. . . upon visiting our students, we have found that they desperately need the guidance, advice, attention, and presence of more qualified black faculty and residents. The students almost burst in animated excitement and pour out all of their feelings to any black person who comes to campus. . . . It is also important for them, and especially for the boys, to have appropriate and positive models with whom to identify. It is hard enough for a student to leave his home of economic poverty and enter a situation of affluence "without putting down his own background"; but if he must also gain all of his positive identification from white

people, how can he feel that there are strong, black leaders for him to emulate, and that black people are worthwhile?⁷⁴

The total school needs black teachers for several reasons: to add a different perspective to the academic program; to allow white adults to deal with their own racial prejudices and hangups by reacting with peers, rather than just with high school age black students; and to demonstrate that a school is sincerely committed to pluralism, and not just interested in experimenting with a few token black students. If more black adults were present on campuses, black students would be freer to be "students" and would not in addition have to play the role of unpaid teachers of the black experience for the entire school community. It seems almost immoral that schools should expect fourteen and fifteen year old black students (as they now tacitly do) to play the roles that black adults should play, in addition to having to cope with the normal problems typical of adolescence. William Dandridge, who through his directorship of the Minority Teacher Recruitment Program has had to deal with the reluctance of some schools to actively commit themselves to the goal of a diversified faculty as well as student body, commented on the importance of black adults in independent schools:

It seems to me, and to others in the black community, that black adults are a prime ingredient in the education of black children. If white faculties and administrators are to be educated about black Americans, they should be educated by black adults--not black children. In the formulation of

⁷⁴McLean, "The Black Student in the Independent School," p. 72.

policies which affect blacks, it seems only reasonable and appropriate that blacks should participate in the deliberations. The goal must be total involvement at every level or not at all. Anything less is tokenism.⁷⁵

The experiences of black teachers already in independent schools show that there are both advantages and disadvantages to such employment. Black teachers, because they are often alone in a school and because of the school's physical distance from a black community, feel much of the isolation and loss of cultural roots that black students experience. As an adult, the teacher has greater emotional maturity to cope with these problems; he may, however, experience an even greater degree of isolation than students, since he has no black peers with which he can communicate. Earl Belton, a young black teacher who returned to teach for a year in the boarding school where he had been a student, described his sense of isolation:

At a time when black culture is becoming increasingly important to those of us who share its heritage, the black teacher may well find himself removed from the mainstream of social and cultural contacts. He is also probably one of a kind, that is, the only black faculty member among a large number of white colleagues. Isolated as he is from any immediate source of cultural reinforcement, he may find himself in the position of "resident black" in both the school and the metropolitan communities, and expected to be the expert in all matters pertaining to black people.⁷⁶

⁷⁵William L. Dandridge, "Black Reflections on the Independent School: An Overview," Independent School Bulletin 30 (December 1970): 15.

⁷⁶Earl L. Belton, "Black Reflections on the Independent School: The Black Teacher," Independent School Bulletin 30 (December 1970): 15.

Quite naturally this isolation is increased in the boarding school situation, and particularly for the single teacher who does not have a family with him for support.

In addition to his teaching duties, the black teacher is thrust, willingly or not, into the role of mediator between the black students (especially if they are organized) and the school faculty and administration.

. . . the black teacher is unavoidably placed in the position of liaison between faculty and administration, and the black student body. Each will demand his allegiance and his loyalty. Each group will insist that he take their point of view. Each will require that he take a side and champion its cause. He must attempt to represent the positions of both groups, to serve as arbiter, and to work out the terms of a compromise where possible, and, he hopes, without compromising his own integrity. The discrepancies between factions, between the growing sense of black awareness on the part of the students and the often tenacious traditions of the institution, cherished and defended by faculty and administration, are frequently both enormous and formidable.⁷⁷

Many schools make the mistake of not officially recognizing that a black teacher often has to play these additional roles of arbiter and counselor (and he certainly will have to if he is the only black teacher on campus) and do not make allowances for the added work load. Most black teachers who come to independent schools usually are willing to take on these extra responsibilities, but they do occasionally become frustrated by the increase in time commitment involved. The

⁷⁷Ibid.

teacher often finds it difficult to be well prepared for his classes when so much time is spent in his work with black students.

Gerald N. Davis, who is unique among independent school teachers since he has been in one school for eleven years now, has had firsthand experience in observing the evolution of black students' attitudes over most of their brief history in independent schools. As he was hired as a teacher before black students became an organized group within his school, he has also experienced the evolution in his role as a black adult in the school community.

I did not come to this school with the intent of advising black students or speaking for black people; no such mandate existed here at that time from students or faculty and administration. . . . blacks were not actually or consciously a unified group until 1969. . . .

. . . over the last five years, . . . although I have remained a teacher, dormitory counselor, and coach of sorts, I have assumed many additional obligations to the colony of black students here. I have found this phase of my work the most difficult but also the most rewarding. It is often an unenviable position, being liaison between black students and a white school administration; but I feel that it is a vital role that someone had to fulfill if a healthy climate for black students was to be developed.⁷⁸

Serving this very special role with black students can cause the black teacher to reexamine (often painfully) his own personal priorities and sense of commitment to black struggle.

I did not create the black student group or their awareness. Their own sense of

⁷⁸Gerald N. Davis, "Making the Independent School Relevant to Blacks," Independent School Bulletin 33 (October 1973):25-26.

alienation and frustration brought them together, and it wasn't long before I found myself working along with them after undergoing some changes in my own thinking.⁷⁹

If the black teacher moves into an independent school unaware of the special role he may have to play with black students, he may become quickly disillusioned with the school and leave. Schools have to realize that all black teachers do not have the natural talent or skills to serve as advisor to black students: it is possible that if they are from a middle class background they may have almost as much difficulty relating to "poor" blacks as do white teachers. Also, they may simply be interested in teaching, and not in counseling or political involvement. As individuals, they should have the option of deciding what role they wish to play, rather than have one forced upon them by circumstances. Ideally, there should be room for all types of black teachers in independent schools; with the present small numbers in the schools, however, a black teacher would find it most difficult to be a passive bystander when faced with the concerns of black students and the insensitivity of administration.

The price the black teacher pays when these issues arise can best be measured in terms of the tremendous pressure under which he is placed to assess his own beliefs, his own priorities, his own commitment, and to produce the solution expected of him. . . . While popularity is not necessary to his competence or success as a teacher, in his capacity as mediator he must be able to maintain a functioning rapport with everyone . . . whether he fully identifies

⁷⁹Ibid., p. 25.

with either side or is merely concerned, as he surely must be, he will invariably do a considerable amount of painful, even excruciating fencesitting.⁸⁰

In spite of the problems with which black teachers will have to contend in independent schools, there are still many benefits which should make such employment attractive, especially as an alternative to the public school system. Although salaries are generally lower in independent than in public schools; in the boarding schools there are usually perquisites such as housing, meals, free tuition for faculty children, which, when totaled up, make independent school compensation competitive with public schools. The greatest rewards, however, are more intellectual and personal than financial. In independent schools, teachers are generally afforded greater freedom than their public school colleagues in deciding what, and how they want to teach. For the black teacher interested in black studies, he or she is usually given a free hand in formulating courses. The opportunities for professional development also appear to be greater in independent than in public schools. Most schools are committed to continuous education and provide substantial funds to faculty members for summer study. Many schools have also recently instituted sabbatical programs.

The independent schools offer an opportunity for teachers to get involved in various aspects of education, rather than having to limit their activities to the classroom. In most schools the faculty plays a large role in deciding school policy, which allows teachers to

⁸⁰Belton, "Black Reflections on the Independent School," p. 16.

actively decide the future of their schools. Because of the various roles most teachers play, independent school faculty members can develop (and are encouraged by their schools to do so) skills in counseling, coaching, curriculum planning, administration, as well as becoming a better teacher. Since student-teacher ratios are half what they are in public schools, teachers in independent schools are more able to get to know their students and deal with them as individuals. For the black teacher, there is the extra added benefit of working with a group of highly motivated black youngsters, who will most likely be the future leaders of the black community. Mr. Davis, in reviewing his experience in independent schools, summarized the advantages for blacks:

I earnestly believe that a minority teacher will find greater tolerance and sympathy for himself and his views in the independent school world than in public school systems because it is smaller, less impersonal and more humane.⁸¹

Why then, have not the independent schools been more successful in hiring black teachers? The answer, unfortunately, is that the majority of the schools, in spite of all their protests to the contrary, have not seen this as a priority. When pressed on the question as to why they do not have black teachers, administrators have an entire repertory of responses with which they attempt to divert the blame from themselves onto black teachers:

We want sincerely to have a Negro on the Faculty, but not as an adviser to the

⁸¹Davis, "Making the Independent School Relevant to Blacks," p. 27.

Negro boys--that would be discrimination.

Most well-educated blacks are essential to their own communities. We can hire them for a summer, but we can't get them for a full year. Too many have community projects. In a way, we're almost glad when a Negro turns us down for those reasons.

It's difficult to get qualified Negroes. They're in tremendous demand all over the country.⁸²

These responses are remarkably similar to the same ones used at an earlier time to explain why schools did not have black students. Yet once the commitment to enroll black students was made, the students were found. What is evidenced here is once again the schools trying to determine roles for black people to play, rather than letting them choose for themselves. If a school feels that blacks are better off working in their local communities than teaching in an independent school, then obviously the headmaster of such a school, interviewing a prospective black teacher candidate, is not going to be a good salesman for the job.

Another revealing aspect on the issue seen in the above comments is the use of "a" and "qualified" when talking about black teachers. What is usually meant by "a" is that a school is only looking for one black to fill all the roles, rather than actively seeking black teachers for several anticipated openings. When a school has found "a" black teacher, its efforts usually cease as far as finding others are concerned. "Qualified" when used by the schools in discussing black

⁸²Exonian, 22 May 1968, p. 5.

teachers can usually be interpreted as "super qualified." As when they were looking for their first black students they wanted to find blacks who would excel in all aspects of the school, so too has been the case with black teachers. Thus the Minority Teacher Recruitment Program found that there were few schools even willing to consider as teacher candidates graduates of predominantly black colleges, or teachers with no experience, although the independent schools are reputed for serving as a training ground for young inexperienced white teachers. It is obvious that if the first black teacher in a school must be a "Jackie Robinson," then few schools will be successful in finding "one." As Mr. Davis points out, if schools want to integrate their faculties they will have to aggressively recruit black teachers:

Independent schools have to adopt more aggressive recruitment programs . . . if they are really to diversify their faculties. Most prospective black teachers and counselors are not even aware of the opportunities existing in these schools, and so it is necessary to conduct more effective publicity programs and follow them up with a willingness to hire blacks, not just look them over and then hire the more "qualified" white candidate. There are qualified blacks who will come to independent schools, but they will have to be sought out actively. Failure to do so will produce schools even more elitist, alienated, and irrelevant than many are at present.⁸³

If the presence of black teachers in independent schools is a rarity, then the situation for black school administrators is almost

⁸³Davis, "Making the Independent School Relevant to Blacks," p. 27.

non-existent. In the research done by this investigator there were only two black headmasters in the more than 800 NAIS schools, and one of these was head of a predominantly black school in Georgia. The situation of black representation on boards of trustees of independent schools is almost as bleak. In 1971, there were only 148 black trustees among the more than 7,000 total trustees in the 730 NAIS schools who participated in the minority group survey.⁸⁴

Clearly, the independent schools have much to do if they are to narrow the gap between their efforts on behalf of black students and their record with black adults.

A pluralistic environment. The experiences of schools which have attempted to deal sensitively with the diversification of their previously all-white environments show that the results have been salutary for all concerned, blacks as well as whites. Black students who spoke positively of their independent schools usually mentioned respect--respect for individuals and respect for cultural diversity--as the single most important ingredient in their schools' success with "integration." In these schools blacks were allowed to maintain and value their racial heritage as an integral part of their identity; and at the same time each individual was allowed the freedom to choose exactly what kind of person he or she wished to be. Because the cultural heritage and value system of blacks were accepted as being just as legitimate as those of whites, the races could react from a position

⁸⁴National Association of Independent Schools, Minority Group Survey, 1971-72, p. 5.

of equal status. This allowed blacks to not always have to be on the defensive; they were able to choose those values of the white society they wished to adopt and whites, in turn, could adopt black values; or together the two races could establish a new set of values for their schools and for themselves. Thus these schools were moving from a monolithic to a pluralistic society. As in all human endeavors there would be misunderstandings and conflicts. The different groups, however, through confrontation could test their values and eventually learn to relate to one another.

Ernest Williams, a black student who attended an independent day school for six years and did a study of blacks in independent schools as his senior project, felt that his own personal experience had almost measured up to the ideal situation:

Rather than be fearful of one another, the races must learn to respect each other. Each side must be willing to take on some foreign values without losing their sense of their own cultural ties. . . . When the two races finally learn to live peacefully together, . . . the cultural traits that will be valued the most will be those that are at present alien to both blacks and whites. These values will be a combination of each race's present individual values.⁸⁵

In many schools the presence of black students has indeed created a new set of values and traditions for all students. The most obvious example of this is seen in the recent loosening of the upper middle class social "graces" that formerly dominated life in independent schools. Traditions that were considered sacred as little as ten

⁸⁵Williams, "Compromise or Indifference," p. 37.

years ago now appear almost like relics from ancient history. To create an environment which would allow for increasing economic, social, and racial diversity, schools found--to the chagrin of many old-timers--that they could no longer impose such practices as "formal" eating arrangements, dress codes, "tea dances," arranged dates, restriction of students to campus for most of the school year, or the complete structuring of students' daily lives.

Changes have also been made in curriculum to permit approaches and materials other than those of the traditional college preparatory program. Many required courses have been dropped in recognition of the fact that no longer are there absolute domains of knowledge without which one cannot be considered "educated." Changes in program have also been made in recognition of the fact that even in a college preparatory school not all students may desire to continue their education via the traditional college route. These changes have had the cumulative effect of allowing students to be treated as individuals, rather than having to conform to some preconceived mold. The schools in learning to relate to black and other minority students have become less autocratic and more humane in their approach to all students.

Ten years ago most independent schools were single-sex institutions. Today most have become coeducational or coordinate out of a need to respond more relevantly to the exigencies of the modern world. Faculties also are changing: a few blacks are being hired; and women too are being employed in schools which previously felt--and had strict policies to that effect--a woman's principle role was to bring a

feminine and motherly touch to the campus. In the boys' boarding schools wives of male teachers were traditionally required, without any financial compensation, to serve as social hostesses: pouring tea at receptions and arranging flowers in campus buildings. Before a school hired a male teacher they often required that his wife also be interviewed to determine whether she would graciously "fit" into the social pattern of the school. Even where the wife was a qualified teacher, many schools had rules which prohibited employment of teaching couples. The women's movement has been successful in putting a dent in some of these practices and policies. The overall effect is that the traditional school "master," completely loyal to a school, is being joined by teachers more willing to question some of the assumptions of the institution.

Although all of these changes cannot be directly attributed to the presence of blacks on independent school campuses (economic necessity and societal changes beyond the schools having also had an effect), blacks certainly were very instrumental in cracking the wall of tradition which subsequently made it easier for other groups to push it down. For example, after significant struggle, in many schools blacks were allowed to leave campus to visit blacks at other schools and at neighboring colleges. Whites reacted by requesting the same "privilege" for themselves and gradually the schools were obliged to loosen restrictions to campus for all students. Or, in another situation, to express their racial and cultural identity blacks requested permission to wear the Afro hair style or grow a beard or wear a dashiki; as a

result, schools had to eventually change dress and hair codes for all students. One final example of the many of this type that could be mentioned: the request by blacks for black studies' courses led to a reevaluation of the entire curriculum. Even in those cases where blacks did not lead the way in attacking a particular feature of the independent schools, whites often were encouraged to go forward by, or patterned their strategy after that of the black movement. This was especially visible in the strategies of the women's liberation movement as it pressed for recognition both in independent schools and in the larger American society.

When the independent schools began admitting blacks in any numbers little more than a decade ago, they saw these black students simply as an appendage which would not necessitate any significant changes in the schools. The history of the period has shown, however, that this assumption was naïve. The presence of blacks on campus has been the catalyst for a chain of events which have forced the schools to change more in the last ten years than they had done in the previous one hundred. Thus, when the student quoted above spoke of a new set of values for independent schools, he was not far off base.

C H A P T E R I I I

METHODOLOGY

This chapter describes the research procedures that were used in this study. It includes a description of the instruments used to gather the data of the study; a description of the methods of selecting the sample of independent secondary schools and the respondents in those schools; a description of the administration of the instruments; and concludes with a description of the procedures used in analyzing the data.

Selection of the Instruments

As stated in Chapter I, one major purpose of this study was to see if there was any empirical evidence to support hypothesized relationships between seven selected black student characteristics (sex, length of time in a particular school, academic performance, type and location of home community, previous experience with integrated schooling, economic background, and affiliation with the ABC program) and attitudes of these students towards their independent schools. The second major purpose of the study was to see if there was any empirical evidence to support relationships between five selected characteristics of independent schools (type of school, size of school, black enrollment percentages, black adults in or near a school, and degree of structure in a school) and attitudes of black students towards these schools. To meet the needs of this study, three sets of information were required: (1) demographic and general information concerning the

participating schools; (2) personal profiles of the student respondents; and (3) a measure of student attitudes towards their independent school environments. The latter measure would be used as the dependent variable of the study, whereas the two former would provide the basis for arriving at the independent variables of the study.

The LAAS instrument

There are in existence many attitude scales which purport to measure student perceptions of their school environments. Most of these, however, were formulated with college populations in mind and would have necessitated revisions in order to be applicable to secondary school populations. Through his association with Professor Ronald H. Fredrickson of the School of Education of the University of Massachusetts, this researcher became aware of the Learning Atmosphere Attitude Scale (LAAS). This scale was specifically designed to measure student perceptions of secondary school environments. Preliminary research with the LAAS had used as respondents secondary school students, including a non-public school group. In the particular study with the non-public school respondents, the LAAS had in fact distinguished between the non-public and the public school respondents.¹

Since the LAAS was a recently devised instrument that had just undergone extensive revisions by Dr. Fredrickson and his co-researchers, it had the advantage over more dated scales of having the concepts and

¹William J. Quinlan, "A Comparison of Total Scores on the Learning Atmosphere Attitude Scale with High School Student Characteristics and Behaviors" (Ed.D. dissertation, University of Massachusetts, 1971), p. 133.

the language of its items contemporary enough to be relevant both to present day high school students and to the rapidly changing high school environments in which they studied. Furthermore, since the developers of the LAAS had established norms for users of the scale, it offered a reference point with which the black perceptions of independent school environments in the present study could be compared.

The LAAS solicited information concerning student perceptions of various areas of their school environments and included those areas that seemed specifically relevant to the major concerns of the present study. Because of this division of the scale into sub-scales, it would be possible not only to measure student perceptions of the total school environment but also their reactions to specific aspects of that environment.

For a combination of the above stated reasons, the LAAS was chosen as the instrument to measure black student perceptions of independent schools in this study.

A draft of a manual for users of the LAAS was written in August 1972 by Dr. Fredrickson and his co-researchers.² It describes the LAAS as "a 30 item Likert-type experimental inventory designed to measure certain dimensions of a school's learning climate through student perceptions of the school environment." The inventory consists of items dealing with student perceptions of teachers, peers, curriculum, administration, school activities and facilities, as well as items

²Ronald H. Fredrickson et al., "Manual for the Learning Atmosphere Attitude Scale," University of Massachusetts (Amherst), School of Education, 1972. (Mimeographed.)

which attempt to explore the way in which a student perceives himself in relation to school and education.

Since its development in 1970 by Dr. Fredrickson and Francis D. Kelley, then also of the School of Education of the University of Massachusetts, the scale has undergone four revisions. Simon V. Keochakian, a doctoral student in 1970 at the same institution, aided in some of the revisions of the scale. In its original form the scale consisted of 100 items. Through item analysis procedures, the scale was reduced in stages to 25 items. Finally, five items dealing with attitudes towards school physical facilities were added, bringing the scale to its present length of 30 items. Although there are presently five forms of the LAAS, Form A (original scale in final form) is the one used in this study. The four additional forms were developed by Keochakian and are all variations of Form A. Form B consists of Form A items paraphrased but retaining the same positive and negative item division of the original form. The other three variations of Form A consist of various changes in the positive-negative item division. Keochakian, using these five forms in a study with 2,772 secondary school students, found that the direction of the wording of the altered items seemed to have little differential effect on discrepancy scores in a test-pretest situation utilizing the original and an alternate form of the scale.³ Therefore, this researcher chose to use only Form

³Simon V. Keochakian, "A Comparison of Responses to the Original and the Oppositely Stated Items of the Learning Atmosphere Attitude Scale" (Ed.D. dissertation, University of Massachusetts, 1970).

A of the scale for the purposes of the present study. Items 14 through 43 of the student questionnaire (Appendix A) are the 30 items of Form A of the LAAS.

Scoring the LAAS. The subjects respond to each item on a five point gradient ranging from "strongly agree" (value of 1) to "strongly disagree" (value of 5) with an undecided neutral point of 0 (value of 3). Of the 30 items, 16 are cast in the negative format and 14 in the positive format. In terms of scoring, the responses to the positive items are reversed so that a high score represents a positive attitude towards school climate. In this present study no subject failed to respond to more than two of the 30 items, nor did any subject show a systematic pattern in his responses (for example, all items marked strongly disagree, undecided, or strongly agree; or a repeating pattern such as 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 4, 3, 2, 1). If this had occurred, according to the instructions of the authors of the scale, it would have been necessary to eliminate the respondent from the study. In those few cases where a student failed to respond to one or two items, the researcher, following the instructions of the scale authors, assigned a neutral value (undecided, 3) to those items. Therefore, the final score on the scale of all respondents would range from a low or negative score of 30 to a high or positive score of 150.

Reliability of the LAAS. The initial reliabilities of the LAAS support its use as an experimental instrument. The authors in their manual for users state that the reliability of the LAAS has been determined by the Kuder-Richardson Formula 20, coefficient alpha,

test-retest, and Reciprocal Averages methods. In the pilot studies with the scale, conducted with samples of secondary school students (N=56), internal consistency was assessed and produced reliabilities of .87 and .81 using the Kuder-Richardson Formula 20. Using the coefficient alpha method, a correlation coefficient of .85 was obtained in a study with 2,772 secondary school subjects. Quinlan's analysis of 568 randomly selected LAAS total scores provided another measure of internal consistency: using a Reciprocal Averages Program (RAVE), which assumes that a single variable underlies all items in the instrument (in this case, student perception), a maximized reliability of .87 was obtained. Finally, the temporal reliability of the scale was determined by administering Form A of the scale to 571 secondary school students on two occasions, with a six to seven week interval between each administration. Here the correlation coefficient obtained was .80.⁴

Validity of the LAAS. Because this researcher did not make any revisions in the standard form of the LAAS before administering it to the subjects of the study, the validity of the scale as determined by its developers was accepted. In their manual for users, the authors of the scale discuss both the construct and concurrent validity of the LAAS.⁵

Initially, much of the validity of the LAAS relied on the extensive contact with students in the original development of items.

⁴Fredrickson et al., "Manual for the LAAS," pp. 4-5.

⁵Ibid., pp. 5-8.

In early pilot testing with the scale, it was found to differentiate between a high performance class and a low performance class. This lent support to the authors' hypothesis that students from diverse curricula would have divergent attitudes about school. The authors noted, however, that it was difficult to compare the scale in this manner, for there was at the time no other scale in use that measured these particular constructs at the secondary level.

The concurrent validity of the LAAS is based to a large degree on the research with the scale done by William Quinlan. Quinlan administered an open-ended questionnaire to students from three selected secondary schools. This questionnaire included the same constructs purportedly covered in the LAAS: it solicited unstructured responses as to how students perceived their school subject curriculum, teacher attitudes towards them, extra-curricular activities program, administration of the school, and relationships with other students in the school. Students were encouraged to respond as freely and as fully as possible to the seven questions asked. This procedure enabled the students to respond to the specific constructs in their own way, using their own words. Once the open-ended questionnaire had been administered to the students, they were given Form A of the LAAS. The open-ended questionnaires were then rated by three independent judges and the mean scores for each individual question and the total score on the open-ended questionnaires were used in computing correlations with the student LAAS total score and the LAAS sub-scales. The correlations between the sub-scales of the open-ended questionnaire and the

sub-scales of the LAAS varied from .30 to .51 respectively. All correlations were significant at the .01 level of confidence. The overall correlation between the LAAS total score and the open-ended questionnaire total score was .65. These results led Quinlan to conclude:

If we can accept the more natural free responses to the LAAS constructs as an indication of true student feeling about perceptions of the school environment, then the total score correlations between the two scales of .65, significant at the .001 level, does suggest that some measure of concurrent validity exists between the two scales.⁶

Another consideration that may be raised in terms of instrument validation was examined by Quinlan. Following a suggestion he found in their text, Scales for Measurement of Attitudes, (M. Shaw and J. Wright, New York: McGraw-Hill, 1967), Quinlan examined the LAAS in terms of Shaw and Wright's following hypothesis:

We would expect that different schools would have at least slightly different environments. It follows, then, that a valid scale would yield different scores for these groups. If the scale can discriminate to that extent, then it can be considered to have construct validity.

In Quinlan's study all the schools did yield different patterns of results during the administration of the LAAS. Total mean scores in the sample schools differed and mean scores for sub-scales also indicated varying patterns of student perceptions within schools. Based on these results Quinlan felt that Shaw and Wright's criterion of validity had

⁶Quinlan, "A Comparison of Total Scores on the LAAS with High School Student Characteristics and Behaviors," p. 130.

been met for the LAAS and he concluded that this "would indicate some form of construct validity."⁷

The student questionnaire

The personal profiles of student respondents necessary for the study were collected through administration of a multiple choice, self-reporting questionnaire. This format was used to facilitate subsequent coding of the information. The questionnaire consisted of thirteen questions, with all possible responses provided. Each respondent was asked to circle the responses that described his or her individual situation. Before the questionnaire was actually administered to the subjects of this study, the investigator tested it with a small pilot group of students to verify whether all questions were clear and to determine if all possible responses had been included among the multiple choices.

Information solicited by the questionnaire included: the age, sex, and grade in school of respondents; the number of years a respondent had been in his present school, his current grade average, and whether he boarded at school or lived at home; the nationality of the student, his previous school contacts with whites, the geographic location and type of a student's home community (urban, rural, suburban); and finally, whether respondents were or were not receiving financial aid, the amount of aid, and whether part of this aid came from participation in the ABC program. The student profile questionnaire was

⁷Ibid., p. 64.

included in the same packet as the LAAS inventory and comprised questions 1 through 13 of this packet (see Appendix A). Information from the student profile questionnaire was subsequently coded and became the independent student variables of the study.

The school questionnaire

The school questionnaire, reproduced in Appendix B, was devised by the researcher and included two parts. This questionnaire, to be completed by the school head or by his appointee, solicited in part one information about a school's student and faculty populations, financial aid statistics, and the distance from the school of the nearest black community. This part of the school questionnaire was demographical and requested the necessary statistics.

Part two of the school questionnaire attempted to gather information about student life at the school. To save respondents time in completing the questionnaire, an attempt was made to include multiple choice type questions. Due to the diversity of the schools in the sample, however, it was impossible to anticipate all possible responses to the questions; therefore, included with the multiple choice responses was a space in which respondents could elaborate on listed responses or add others appropriate to their particular school. The areas of student life covered in part two of the school questionnaire included school attendance policies, athletic requirements, parietal rules, school governance, dress codes, and disciplinary policies. Questions 1 through 23 of this part of the questionnaire were intended for all school respondents; whereas the remaining six questions (24-29) were

to be answered only by boarding schools as the information requested was only relevant to a residential school setting. Information gathered from part two of the questionnaire was coded and used to form the independent variable concerned with degree of structure in a school. The other four independent school variables used in the study were created using information from part one of the school questionnaire.

Selection of the Sample

The school sample

As explained in Chapter I, this study was limited to New England secondary independent schools belonging to NAIS. According to NAIS records, in 1972 there were 122 schools falling within these parameters.⁸ Of these 122 schools, 107 reported black student enrollment in the NAIS 1971-72 minority group survey.⁹ Rather than attempt to have all 107 schools participate in the study, it was deemed more practical and economical to select a proportionate stratified random sample of these schools. To do this, the 107 schools were divided into six categories based on type (boarding or day) and sex orientation (girls, boys, or coeducational). Each category was then assigned a weight proportionate to the percentage of black students enrolled in each type of school

⁸National Association of Independent Schools, Membership List 1971-72 (Boston: National Association of Independent Schools, n.d.).

⁹National Association of Independent Schools, Minority Group Survey 1971-1972. The published survey does not include names of schools, only total statistics on minority enrollment. Specific information as to which schools did or did not have black students was obtained by referring to the original questionnaires completed by the schools for the survey. These questionnaires are on file in the Boston offices of NAIS.

across New England. Thus, for example, in the sample there would be more coeducational and boys' schools than girls' schools; and more boarding than day schools, since this corresponded to the actual breakdown of black student enrollment in the total New England independent school population. Because the sample was proportionately stratified, in analyzing the data it could be treated as a simple random sample. As with the random sample, the mean of the proportionate stratified sample is the best estimate one has of the population mean, and requires no weighting or adjustment in subsequent computations.¹⁰

Using these methods of random sampling for a proportionately stratified population, forty-seven schools were selected and asked to participate in the study. To secure permission to have the selected schools participate in the study, a detailed, individually typed letter was sent to the headmasters of each of the schools. These letters explained the background and purposes of the study and also included some biographical information about the investigator. Although the content of these letters varied to a small degree depending on the investigator's personal acquaintance with the school head, the basic format of the letter was similar to the one reproduced in Appendix C. If a headmaster was willing to have his school participate in the study, the letter requested that he provide the investigator with the name of a faculty member who would be willing to help in the administration of

¹⁰H. J. Butcher, Sampling in Educational Research (Manchester, England: Manchester University Press, 1965), p. 10.

the questionnaires to student respondents. Some headmasters volunteered themselves as the contact person; others solicited their Dean of Students or faculty advisor to the Afro-Am group to assist with the study.

Of the original 47 schools contacted, 36 eventually participated in the study. This represented a school response rate of 76.5 percent. Also, with 36 schools participating, a little more than one-third the total number (107) of NAIS New England secondary schools with black students were included in the study.

Although the school response rate was high, it had been hoped that all of the schools in the sample would participate in the study. In an attempt to secure more participation and to determine reasons for non-participation, an effort was made to contact by telephone all of the twelve schools which had not responded to the investigator's original letter. One additional school (included in the total of thirty-six mentioned above) was brought into the study in this way. Of the remaining eleven non-participants, it was impossible to establish contact with one school head, and the others continued to decline to participate in the study. An examination of the characteristics of the eleven non-participating schools was made, including their reasons for not participating in the study. As these eleven schools were fairly evenly divided among the six categories of schools in the study, and because there was no distinguishable pattern of non-participation that might subsequently invalidate either the randomness of the sample or the final results of the study, it was decided to continue the investigation with thirty-six schools.

Certain practical and methodological considerations also played a role in reaching the decision to proceed. Whereas it might have been possible to return to the original population of 107 schools with black students and select another 11 schools; from a practical standpoint, because of the approaching summer vacations, it would have been impossible to administer the questionnaires in the same school year. From the point of view of methodology, it would have been unsound to test one group of students before summer vacation and another group at the beginning of a new school year. Since the study was concerned with attitudes, and because attitudes change from year to year, and even within a given school year, it could have been expected that testing students at different times would achieve different results. Therefore, it seemed more appropriate to proceed with thirty-six schools and not try to increase the sample size.

In order that the participating schools may remain anonymous, they are referred to in the following pages by code numbers rather than by names. Certain demographic characteristics of the schools participating in the study are presented in Table 1. Table 2 presents the same information for those schools in the original sample that did not agree to take part in the study. It also briefly states the principle reasons why these schools refused to participate.

The student respondents

All the black students in grades 9 through 13 (a few schools had a 13th or post-graduate high school year) in the 36 schools were asked to participate in the study. The total population of black

TABLE 1
DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF THE PARTICIPATING SCHOOLS

School Code	School Type	School Location	Number of Students
01	Coed boarding	Connecticut	200
02	Coed boarding	Connecticut	500
03	Coed boarding	Connecticut	671
04	Coed boarding	Massachusetts	1,060
05	Coed boarding	Massachusetts	165
06	Coed boarding	Maine	186
07	Coed boarding	New Hampshire	465
08	Coed boarding	Vermont	201
09	Coed boarding	Connecticut	776
10	Coed boarding	Massachusetts	280
11	Boys' boarding	Connecticut	393
12	Boys' boarding	Connecticut	308
13	Boys' boarding	Massachusetts	520
14	Boys' boarding	Massachusetts	318
15	Boys' boarding	New Hampshire	162
16	Boys' boarding	Rhode Island	162
17	Boys' boarding	Connecticut	219
18	Boys' boarding	Massachusetts	251

TABLE 1--Continued

School Code	School Type	School Location	Number of Students
19	Boys' boarding	Massachusetts	262
20	Boys' boarding	Massachusetts	170
21	Girls' boarding	Connecticut	238
22	Girls' boarding	Massachusetts	373
23	Girls' boarding	Massachusetts	73
24	Girls' boarding	Connecticut	127
25	Girls' boarding	Connecticut	110
26	Coed day	Connecticut	448
27	Coed day	Connecticut	388
28	Coed day	Massachusetts	392
29	Boys' day	Massachusetts	140
30	Boys' day	Rhode Island	315
31	Boys' day	Connecticut	160
32	Girls' day	Connecticut	196
33	Girls' day	Rhode Island	310
34	Girls' day	Rhode Island	200
35	Girls' day	Massachusetts	151
36	Girls' day	Connecticut	151

TABLE 2

DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF SCHOOLS IN ORIGINAL SAMPLE WHICH DID NOT PARTICIPATE IN THE STUDY AND THEIR REASONS FOR NON-PARTICIPATION

School Code	School Type	School Location	Number of Students	Reason for Non-Participation
37	Coed boarding	Maine	73	No black students enrolled this year
38	Coed boarding	Connecticut	497	Feels questionnaire is biased
39	Coed boarding	Massachusetts	347	Many blacks away on special projects
40	Boys' boarding	Connecticut	277	Headmaster could not be contacted
41	Boys' boarding	Maine	152	Agreed to participate but never returned questionnaires
42	Boys' boarding	Vermont	182	Afro-Am voted not to participate
43	Boys' boarding	New Hampshire	185	Does not allow research projects
44	Girls' boarding	Massachusetts	272	Head feels they have too few blacks to participate
45	Coed day	Connecticut	110	Does not allow research projects
46	Boys' day	Massachusetts	242	Administrative upheaval in school
47	Girls' day	Massachusetts	256	Principal out of town for several weeks

students in NAIS New England secondary schools numbered approximately 1,061 in 1972.¹¹ Out of this total population, 554 black students were enrolled in the 36 schools participating in the study. Of these 554, 396 completed the study's student questionnaire. This number represented 71.4 percent of the sample population asked to participate in the study and 37.3 percent of the total number of black students in NAIS New England secondary schools.

An attempt was made to ascertain why 158 students in the sample population did not complete the questionnaires. In the instructions for completing the questionnaire included with each student packet, students unwilling to participate were asked to briefly explain why (in writing) before returning the questionnaire to the school contact person. Approximately 5 percent of the non-respondents complied with this request. Without exception, their reasons for not participating had to do with an unwillingness to serve as "guinea pigs" in yet another research project. The other non-respondents did not communicate directly to the researcher their reasons for not participating. School contact persons were questioned to determine whether there was any distinguishable pattern among the non-respondents in their schools. The contacts did not report any such pattern: non-respondents were generally equally divided along sexual, grade in school, and academic performance lines. Furthermore, according to the contacts, the non-respondents did not seem to lean heavily in any specific direction

¹¹National Association of Independent Schools, Minority Group Survey 1971-72. Data on file in NAIS Boston offices.

in so far as attitudes towards their schools were concerned: among the group were students who were considered to have reacted negatively as well as others who had reacted positively to the independent school experience. The contact persons felt that the vast majority of students not participating in the study did so merely because they did not take the time to complete the questionnaire, and not because of any specific opposition to the study. Nevertheless, in analyzing the results of the study, it should be kept in mind that 29 percent of the sample population did not participate in the study. Even though the non-participating group did not demonstrate any distinguishable characteristics, they were, at the least, less conscientious with respect to this study than their peers who took the time to complete the questionnaire.

A comparison of total black student enrollment in each of the schools with the numbers and percentages of these students participating in the study is presented in Table 3.

Administration of the Instruments

The student and school questionnaires were administered in April and May of 1973. After a school agreed to participate in the study, the researcher communicated by letter with the school contact person in order to work out details for the administration of the questionnaires. The contact person was then sent more than enough questionnaires for all the black students in his school. In order to standardize questionnaire administration in the different schools, the contact person was also sent an information sheet which contained suggestions to be used in distributing and collecting the questionnaires

TABLE 3

TOTAL BLACK ENROLLMENT IN SAMPLE SCHOOLS
WITH NUMBER AND PERCENT RESPONDING IN THE STUDY

School Code	Total Black Enrollment	Number Responding	Percent Responding
01	25	12	48%
02	14	14	100%
03	47	44	94%
04	60	43	72%
05	21	15	71%
06	17	11	65%
07	37	22	59%
08	13	6	46%
09	30	19	63%
10	9	3	33%
11	13	6	46%
12	17	9	53%
13	21	9	43%
14	9	9	100%
15	3	2	67%
16	12	8	67%
17	12	11	92%
18	9	7	78%

TABLE 3--Continued

School Code	Total Black Enrollment	Number Responding	Percent Responding
19	15	9	60%
20	3	3	100%
21	9	9	100%
22	9	7	78%
23	22	15	68%
24	8	8	100%
25	1	1	100%
26	15	15	100%
27	28	11	39%
28	17	17	100%
29	21	16	76%
30	12	12	100%
31	3	2	67%
32	4	3	75%
33	4	4	100%
34	7	7	100%
35	2	2	100%
36	5	5	100%
Total	554	396	71%

(Appendix D).

The procedures for administering the student questionnaires were as follows:

1. The contact person distributed a questionnaire packet to each black student in his or her school. Attached to each questionnaire was an envelope in which the respondent would place and seal his questionnaire after completing it.

2. Students were told by the contact person to work at their leisure and to return the questionnaire, sealed in the attached envelope, to him when completed. At no point in the study were students asked to identify themselves by name. The envelope was provided to insure this anonymity as well as to assure students that their responses to the questionnaire would not be seen by anyone in their schools.

3. The cover sheet of the student questionnaire (Appendix A) gave a brief biography of the researcher and explained some of the purposes of the study. This was done to aid in allaying anxiety on the part of the students and also to promote cooperation and honesty in the completion of the questionnaires. The student questionnaire also included all directions necessary for completion of both the personal profile and the LAAS section of the questionnaire.

4. When students returned their questionnaires to the contact person, the latter was requested to keep a record in order to know when all questionnaires had been completed and in order to seek out those students who had not returned the questionnaire.

5. When all questionnaires had been returned, the contact person was requested to put them in the large stamped envelope provided

for this purpose and to mail them to the researcher.

Interestingly, without having been asked to do so, several students took the time to enclose with their questionnaires a personal note to the researcher. A few complained about the relevancy for blacks of some of the questions on the LAAS; most, however, expressed a sincere interest in the research project and even included an address to which they could be sent the final results. Some students said they were pleased that someone was finally taking an interest in the "plight" of blacks in independent schools and suggested that the researcher visit the schools in person to learn in more depth the details of their experiences. The candor of some of these personal notes was reminiscent of the observation of an ABC counselor reported earlier in this paper (p. 109) in describing the need black students in independent schools have to discuss their situations with black adults.

Before returning the student questionnaires, the school contact person was requested to make sure that he or another person appointed by the headmaster had completed the school questionnaire. Most of the school questionnaires were returned along with the student questionnaires; others, however, having been lost beneath the papers on a headmaster's desk were not returned until several weeks later.

Collecting and Analyzing the Data

The student questionnaires

As the student questionnaires were returned, the researcher coded the information and had it punched on IBM cards. The coding procedures devised by the researcher to do this are reproduced in

Appendix E. Once coded, the data was then subjected to electronic data processing for analysis. Using programs from the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS),¹² frequency counts, mean scores, standard deviations, crosstabulations, and all essential information on each of the independent student variables were first computed. In addition, the total LAAS score, the dependent variable, was computed for each respondent and then subjected to descriptive analysis.

Once the data was gathered by the SPSS programs, each of the variables was then correlated with the others across schools to see what, if any, relationships were suggested. Also, tests of significance at the .01 and .05 levels of confidence were computed for all relationships.

The school questionnaires

In a similar manner data from the school questionnaires was coded on IBM cards and subjected to electronic data processing for analysis using SPSS programs. The school coding procedures devised by the researcher are presented in Appendix F. Two additional steps, however, were necessary before school data could be analyzed. Firstly, using the individual student total LAAS scores within each school, a mean LAAS score was computed for each school, which then became the dependent variable in the hypotheses relating to schools. Secondly, since one of the independent variables of the study was concerned with

¹²Norman H. Nie, Dale H. Bent, and C. Hadlai Hull, Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1970).

the amount of control (structure) schools attempted to exercise over the daily lives of their students, it was necessary to assign a degree of structure score to each school.

Using the second part of the school questionnaire (Appendix B), the researcher placed a value of from 1 (low structure) to 5 (high structure) on each response to the questions relating to student life. The range of responses and the values attached to them are presented in Appendix G. To complete this procedure it was necessary to divide the schools into boarding and day school groups since, as already explained, the boarding school questionnaire included six more questions than the one for day schools.

Although the original school questionnaire contained 23 questions for day schools and 29 for boarding schools, it was found that the areas explored could be condensed into 17 for day schools and 22 for boarding schools. Therefore, for day schools the lowest possible structure score was 17 and the highest possible score was 85. Similarly, the scores for boarding schools could range from a low of 22 to a high of 110. The actual range of scores for day schools was 42 through 60, with a mean structure score of 50.5 and a standard deviation of 6.31. Day schools seemed to cluster about three points on the structure scale and this fact was used to classify them as low in structure (4 schools, scores of 42 through 47); medium in structure (3 schools, scores of 48 through 53); and high in structure (4 schools, scores of 54 through 60).

The actual range of boarding school structure scores was 54

through 81, with a mean of 67.9 and a standard deviation of 7.03. The boarding schools were also divided into three groups: low structure (6 schools, scores of 54 through 62); medium structure (10 schools, scores of 63 through 71); and high structure (7 schools, scores of 72 through 81). Two of the boarding schools did not complete the second part of the school questionnaire so it was impossible to assign them a structure score.

It should be emphasized that the degree of structure of the schools in this study is a relative measure as it was determined by comparing the schools within the sample, rather than by comparing them to some absolute measure of structure. Also, since the validity of the questionnaire used to determine the structure score was not experimentally established, there is no proof that the questions were actually measuring structure and not some other concept. It is interesting to note, however, that the degree of structure of schools as determined by the questionnaires corresponded with the intuitions of the researcher based on his personal acquaintance with some of the schools in the sample. The researcher also spoke with educators familiar with many of the schools and they agreed that the degree of structure determined by the questionnaires was very consistent with their personal knowledge of the schools in question.

The hypotheses

After the initial descriptive analysis of the data, subsequent computer runs were done to determine what, if any, relationships existed between the dependent and independent variables of the study. Again

SPSS programs were used and included Kendall's and Spearman's rank-order correlations, Pearson product moment correlations, and one way analyses of variance. In reporting the findings of the study, of the three correlation coefficients computed, only Kendall's tau will be presented as it seemed to be the test of correlation most appropriate to the data of the study. Although the Pearson product moment correlation is a more powerful statistical test than either the Kendall or Spearman rank-order correlations; the former, unlike the two latter, makes certain specific assumptions about the data, namely, that it be normally distributed and that it be measured on an interval scale.¹³ As determined by the Kolmogorov-Smirnov goodness of fit test (which is included in the SPSS programs),¹⁴ the data in the present study met the requirement of normalacy; the measurement of all the variables of the study, however, were not interval. While scores on the LAAS may be considered as interval, measurement of the independent variables of the study were either nominal or ordinal. For these reasons the researcher rejected the Pearson parametric test for the more appropriate non-parametric (Kendall) test of correlation. In computing the non-parametric tests, the computer must first read in the initial values of the variables and then replace them with ordinal rankings. Although score on the LAAS is theoretically an interval measure, it can very

¹³Sidney Siegel, Nonparametric Statistics for the Behavioral Sciences (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1956), p. 19.

¹⁴Nie et al., Statistical Package for the Social Sciences. The Kolmogorov-Smirnov goodness of fit test is explained in the update manual (#5.8, Mimeographed) for users of the programs in the Package. It is found on p. 7 of the section entitled, "Nonparametric Statistical Tests."

easily be converted to an ordinal scale. Most of the independent variables were already in rank order form.

Kendall's tau was chosen over Spearman's r_s because the former is usually considered to be more appropriate than the latter when a fairly large number of cases are classified into a relatively small number of categories,¹⁵ as was true in this study.

The statistical tests described were used to test the hypotheses of the study which were stated in the null form since the researcher was not specifically testing the direction of relationships, but rather if they in fact existed. The null hypothesis states that the difference between samples is due to chance. The .05 level of significance used to accept or reject the null hypotheses in this study means that a difference as large or larger than the obtained one could occur by chance as frequently as five times out of one hundred.

The hypotheses related to the student variables are as follows:

1. There will be no relationships between the sex of students (SEX) and LAAS total score (LAASTOT);
2. There will be no relationships between the length of time in attendance at a particular school (YRSNSCH) and LAAS total score (LAASTOT);
3. There will be no relationships between student grades (AVERAGE) and LAAS total score (LAASTOT);
4. There will be no relationships between student home

¹⁵Nie et al., Statistical Package for the Social Sciences, p. 153.

communities (HOMLOCA and HOMTYPE) and LAAS total score (LAASTOT);

5. There will be no relationships between students' previous school contacts with whites (RACECOM) and LAAS total score (LAASTOT);
6. There will be no relationships between the amount of financial aid received by students (FINANAD) and total LAAS score (LAASTOT);
7. There will be no relationships between participation in the ABC program (ABC) and total LAAS score (LAASTOT).

The hypotheses relating to schools are as follows:

8. There will be no relationships between school type (SCHTYPE) and school mean LAAS score (SMNLAAS);
9. There will be no relationships between school total enrollment (SCHSIZE) and school mean LAAS score (SMNLAAS);
10. There will be no relationships between black enrollment percentages (BLACPER) and school mean LAAS score (SMNLAAS);
11. There will be no relationships between the presence of black adults in or near a school (BLACTEA and BLACCOM) and school mean LAAS score (SMNLAAS);
12. There will be no relationships between degree of structure within schools (STRCTUR) and school mean LAAS score (SMNLAAS).

CHAPTER IV

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

This chapter presents an analysis of black student perceptions of their independent schools as measured by scores on the Learning Atmosphere Attitude Scale. There were two different, but related aspects of the study: (1) to compare LAAS student total scores across schools to determine what, if any relationships existed between these scores and selected student characteristics; and (2) to compare the mean LAAS scores of students in each of the 36 sample schools to determine whether relationships existed between these scores and selected school characteristics. The purpose of these comparisons was to investigate whether certain groups of black students perceived their independent schools more positively than other black students; and whether certain types of schools solicited more positive responses from black students than other schools.

The first section of this chapter presents a descriptive analysis of the student and school independent variables together with the corresponding dependent variables, the student total and the school mean LAAS scores. The second section of the chapter presents the results of the tests of the null hypotheses of the study.

Descriptive Data

Student independent variables

A description of the student sample population (N=396) that participated in the study, classified along the independent student

variables, is presented in Table 4. Although age and grade in school of students were not variables in the hypotheses of the study, they are nevertheless summarized in this table in order to more completely define the student sample.

A comparison of the student sample population with the total black population of NAIS New England secondary schools supports the investigator's contention that the sample was a stratified random sample of that population. The breakdown of the sample population by the independent variables follows fairly consistently the actual breakdown of the total New England black student population along these lines as reported in NAIS statistics.¹

Sex of respondents. More males (58.8%) than females (41.2%) participated in the study. This breakdown along sexual lines falls within one percentage point of the actual breakdown of the target population as reported by NAIS.

Age of respondents. The ages of student participants in the study formed a normal curve, with the mean age falling a few months over 16 years and with a standard deviation of 1.23. The greatest percentage of students (27.8%) were 16 years old, 21.2 percent were 15 years old, and 27.5 percent were 17 years old. The 14 year old students numbered 5.6 percent of the total sample, 14.4 percent of participants were 18, and 3 percent were 19 years old. At the ends of this normal distribution were one student under 14 years old and another over 19.

¹National Association of Independent Schools, Minority Group Survey 1971-1972. See NAIS files in the organization's Boston office used to formulate the published survey.

TABLE 4
DESCRIPTION OF THE STUDENT SAMPLE POPULATION

Variable Name	Categories	Absolute Frequency	Relative Frequency
SEX	Male	233	58.8%
	Female	163	41.2%
AGE	Under 14	1	0.3%
	14 years	22	5.6%
	15 years	84	21.2%
	16 years	110	27.8%
	17 years	109	27.5%
	18 years	57	14.4%
	19 years	12	3.0%
	Over 19	1	0.3%
GRADE	9th grade	56	14.1%
	10th grade	116	29.3%
	11th grade	114	28.8%
	12th grade	107	27.0%
	Postgraduate	3	0.8%

TABLE 4--Continued

Variable Name	Categories	Absolute Frequency	Relative Frequency
YRSNSCH*	1st year	130	32.8%
	2nd year	116	29.3%
	3rd year	79	19.9%
	4th year	52	13.1%
	5th year	11	2.8%
	More than 5 years	7	1.8%
	No answer	1	0.3%
BOARDIN	Boards at school	269	67.9%
	Lives at home	127	32.1%
AVERAGE*	Mostly A's	13	3.3%
	Mostly A's and B's	52	13.1%
	Mostly B's	69	17.4%
	Mostly B's and C's	151	38.1%
	Mostly C's	55	13.9%
	Mostly C's and D's	44	11.1%
	Mostly D's	6	1.5%
	Mostly D's and F's	4	1.0%
	No answer	2	0.5%

TABLE 4--Continued

Variable Name	Categories	Absolute Frequency	Relative Frequency
HOMLOCA*	Northeast	288	72.7%
	Southeast	40	10.1%
	Middle West	31	7.8%
	Southwest	10	2.5%
	West	5	1.3%
	West Indies	7	1.8%
	Non U.S. and W. Indies	9	2.3%
	No answer	6	1.5%
HOMETYP*	Urban	272	68.7%
	Rural	31	7.8%
	Suburban	88	22.2%
	No answer	5	1.3%
RACECOM*	All black	137	34.6%
	Majority black	68	17.2%
	Equally black-white	49	12.4%
	Majority white	70	17.7%
	Nearly all white	68	17.2%
	No other school	1	0.3%
	No answer	5	1.3%

TABLE 4--Continued

Variable Name	Categories	Absolute Frequency	Relative Frequency
FINANAD*	None	52	13.1%
	1 to 25%	17	4.3%
	26 to 50%	30	7.6%
	51 to 75%	44	11.1%
	76 to 100%	240	60.6%
	Yes, but no amount	8	2.0%
	No answer	5	1.3%
<hr/>			
ABC*	ABC program	150	37.9%
	Non ABC	243	61.4%
	No answer	3	0.8%

*YRSNSCH=Number of years in present school

*AVERAGE=Student estimate of his academic grade average

*HOMLOCA=Geographic location of student's home community

*HOMETYP=Type of student home community

*RACECOM=Student's estimate of the racial composition of his previous school

*FINANAD=Amount, if any, of financial aid received to attend present independent school

*ABC=Relationship to the ABC (A Better Chance) program

This distribution of students in the sample by age is also consistent with NAIS statistics for the total black New England independent secondary school population.

Grade in school of respondents. Most students were either in the 10th (29.3%), 11th (28.8%), or 12th (27%) grades. Only a small number of students were 9th graders (14.1%) or postgraduates (0.8%). Here again the sample population is similar to the total population. In most schools, and this is particularly true of the boarding schools, 9th grade enrollment has dropped drastically in the last few years as increasing costs of a year in independent schools make a four year experience too prohibitive for most family or scholarship budgets.

Years in present school of respondents. The greatest number of students (32.8%) were in their first year of attendance at their present independent school; followed by 29.3 percent in their second year; 19.9 percent in third year; and 13.1 percent in their fourth year of attendance. A small number of students (2.8%) were in their fifth year of attendance and 1.8 percent of the students had spent more than five years in their present independent school. It was possible for a few students to spend more than the four high school years in a particular school since some of the schools in the sample had a junior or lower school division. In these schools black students in the lower division were not asked to participate in the study.

Boarding and day students. The number of boarding students participating in the study represented 67.9 percent of the total student sample. Non-boarders or day students comprised 32.1 percent of the

sample. According to NAIS statistics, 83 percent of the total number of black students in New England secondary independent schools are enrolled in boarding schools and 17 percent are enrolled in day schools. The inconsistency in this area between NAIS figures and those of the study may be explained by the fact that NAIS listed as boarding students all black students attending predominantly boarding schools. It was found in this investigation, however, that in several of the "boarding" schools located near black communities, many of the black students were in fact day students.

Grade averages of respondents. The breakdown of the sample population according to grade average in schools was based on the students' estimates of their averages rather than on official school records. Using this method it might have been expected that students would overestimate their scholastic progress and that the distribution of grade averages would be heavily skewed in the direction of higher grades. Table 4 indicates that this was not, however, the case. When the students' estimates of their grades are plotted, they form a normal curve with the greatest percentage (38.1%) falling in the category "mostly B's and C's." This represents the actual average grade for independent school students in general. In the sample population, 3.3 percent of the respondents estimated their grades as "mostly A's" and 2.5 percent estimated their averages as falling in the "D" and "F" range. The fact that the student sample responses in this very sensitive area--and where it would have been very easy to exaggerate--correspond with reality suggests the conclusion that the total

questionnaires were completed in a similarly sincere and honest manner.

Location of respondents' home communities. In describing the location of their home communities, 72.7 percent of the black students in the sample said they came from the Northeast. The next greatest number (10.1%) were from the Southeast, followed by 7.8 percent from the Middle West, 2.5 percent from the Southwest, and 1.3 percent from the West coast of the United States. Students from the West Indies numbered 1.8 percent of the sample and 2.3 percent of the students lived in other parts of the world. Naturally, all the day students were from the Northeast. The fact that the vast majority of the boarding students came from the eastern coast of the United States is typical of the pattern for the total student (white and black) population of New England independent schools.

Type of home community. In describing their home communities, 68.7 percent of the students chose the classification "urban;" 22.2 percent, suburban; and 7.8 percent said they came from rural communities.

Racial composition of previous schools attended. From the description of the racial composition of the schools they attended before enrolling in their present independent schools, a slight majority of black students had had very little previous school contact with whites. The largest single group of students (34.6%) had previously attended all black schools and 17.2 percent of the sample had attended schools in which blacks were in the majority. Students whose previous schools were equally divided among blacks and whites comprised 12.4 percent of

the sample. Students who had come from predominantly white schools included 17.7 percent who classified their former schools as "majority white" and 17.2 percent from "nearly all white schools." One student had received all his formal education in his present independent school.

Financial aid received by respondents. The percentage of black students in the sample reporting that they received financial aid to attend their independent schools differed from NAIS statistics for black students nationwide. Whereas NAIS reported that 55 percent of the black students attending its member schools received no financial aid, only 13.1 percent of the students in the sample received no financial aid. Among the sample population, 60.6 percent of the students had from 76 to 100 percent of the cost of attending their schools covered by financial aid. Other amounts of aid were: 11.1 percent of the students receiving from 51 to 75 percent of the total costs of their schooling in financial aid; 7.6 percent of the students were in the financial aid range of from 26 to 50 percent; and 4.3 percent of the students with aid of from 1 to 25 percent of total costs.

The large discrepancy between NAIS figures and those of the study in the area of financial aid may be explained by the fact that only secondary New England schools were included in the latter, whereas NAIS' survey was based on both elementary and secondary independent schools nationwide. The New England schools--and this is particularly true of the boarding schools--are among the most expensive independent schools in the country. They also happen to be the schools with the largest financial aid budgets. Since very few American families can afford the full tuition charges (which may be as high as \$5000) in

these schools, most of the black families in attendance must receive large amounts of financial aid. On the other hand, the day schools--especially the elementary schools--have lower tuition fees and also very little money available for financial aid. Therefore, most of the black students attending the elementary day schools receive no financial aid. Since nationwide there are more independent day schools than boarding schools of the New England type, it becomes clearer why national figures for financial aid received by black students would differ from the statistics of the present study.

Affiliation with ABC. The final breakdown of the student sample population was by affiliation with the ABC program. Of the students in the sample, 61.4 percent were not members of the ABC program; 37.9 percent attended their independent schools under the auspices of ABC. All of the ABC participants were in the boarding schools since the program has only very recently begun to place a limited number of students in day schools.

Student dependent variable: the total LAAS score

The composite data on the student total LAAS scores across schools is presented in Table 5.

The potential range of the LAAS is from a negative low score of 30 to a high or positive score of 150. In the present study the mean LAAS score of students across schools was 99.760, with a standard deviation of 15.837. The minimum score obtained was 53 and the highest score was 139. Median score for the LAAS across schools was 101.250.

TABLE 5
STUDENT TOTAL LAAS SCORES ACROSS SCHOOLS

Number of Students	Mean LAAS	S. D.	Median	Range	Min.	Max.
396	99.760	15.837	101.250	86.00	53.00	139.00

Comparison of black student scores with LAAS norms. To aid in the interpretation of the LAAS scores in this study, it is possible to compare them to the norms established in preliminary research with the instrument.² These norms were established in separate studies (mentioned above in this paper) conducted in secondary schools in western Massachusetts. In the first of these studies, the LAAS was administered to 568 students in six schools--three junior high and three high schools. The mean LAAS score of participants in this study was 95.7 with a standard deviation of 16.2.³ In the second study the LAAS was administered to 2,772 students representing seven different schools (four junior high and three high schools) and four communities in western Massachusetts. In this study the mean LAAS score was 94.3 with a standard deviation of 15.9.⁴

²Fredrickson et al., "Manual for the Learning Atmosphere Attitude Scale," pp. 9-12.

³Quinlan, "A Comparison of Total Scores on the Learning Atmosphere Attitude Scale with High School Student Characteristics and Behaviors," p. 83.

⁴Keochakian, "A Comparison of Responses to the Original and the Oppositely Stated Items of the Learning Atmosphere Attitude Scale," p. 58.

Comparing the mean LAAS score of participants in the present study with the norms established by the authors of the scale suggests that black independent school students perceived their school environments more positively than did those students in the "normal" population. Caution should be used, however, in suggesting this conclusion. The population on which the norms were based was a rather specific one, since all the schools were located in rural or suburban Massachusetts; and all the schools, with one exception, were public schools. The public school student population may be very different than the one from which independent school black students come.

In Quinlan's study, one non-public junior high school, with an enrollment of 51 students, was used and its student mean LAAS score was 111.2, with a standard deviation of 13.7.⁵ Therefore, compared to the only other non-public school in which the scale has been administered, the black students in the present study responded less positively as a group. Here again, however, caution should be exercised in making this comparison since the non-public school in question was a Roman Catholic parochial school, which may have been very different than the independent schools in the study.

Another factor to be considered when comparing the LAAS results of the present study with the established norms is the lapse in time between administration of the scale to the "normal" population and the administration of the scale to this investigation's black students. The

⁵Quinlan, "A Comparison of Total Scores on the LAAS with High School Student Characteristics and Behaviors," p. 84.

studies on which the norms were based were completed in 1970 and 1971, the present study in 1973. It is very possible that attitudes of students towards school environments may change with time.

With all the above considerations in mind, it is probably safest to conclude that black students in the present study did register more positive perceptions of their schools than did a particular public school population. It is not possible, however, to make any statements about the absolute degree of differences in perceptions between the two groups. Perhaps a more appropriate way of analyzing the differences between the two groups is to conclude that the black students in the present study appeared more positive in their perceptions of school environments than the "normal" population.

Profiles of low and high scorers. Referring again to Table 5, the minimum score on the LAAS in the present study was 53 and the maximum score was 139. Although evaluation of individual student scores was not a specific purpose of the study, it does help to personalize the investigation and its participants to compare some of the characteristics of the two students with the lowest and highest LAAS scores. The student scoring 53 on the LAAS was a female, who attended a girls' boarding school. She was 18 years old, in the 12th grade, and in her third year of attendance at her independent school. She did not give information on the geographic location of her home but did state that she was from an urban community. In her independent school, she estimated her grade average as being "mostly B's and C's." The school she attended before going away to boarding school was "all or nearly all black." She was a participant in the ABC program and received from

76 to 100 percent financial aid to attend her independent school.

The student with the highest score on the LAAS (139) was also an 18 year old female. She attended a coeducational boarding school. She was also in the 12th grade and had been in her independent school for three years. She reported her grade average as "mostly A's." Her home town was suburban and was located in the Northeast. Her previous schooling was in a "nearly all white" school. She was not affiliated with the ABC program and received no financial aid to attend her independent school.

The main differences between these two students were in the type of independent school attended (coeducational versus all girls); academic performance (superior grades versus average grades); previous experience with white students (former school nearly all white versus former school all or nearly all black); and economic background (no financial aid versus almost full scholarship). The profiles of these two students at opposite ends of the range of scores on the LAAS suggest that economically advantaged black students attending coeducational schools, who have had previous experience in predominantly white school environments, and who academically are at the top of their class; perceive their independent schools more positively than students in single sex schools who have had little or no previous school experience with whites, are average in academic achievement, and who are economically deprived. Of course, this type of conclusion cannot be reached by examining only two particular students. In the analysis of the hypotheses of the study in the second section of this chapter, it will be determined whether any of the characteristics of these two students

are indeed significantly correlated with scores on the LAAS.

Responses to individual items of the LAAS. Although the main emphasis of this study is the total scores on the LAAS, it is interesting to examine how students as a group responded to certain individual items of the scale. Table 6 presents the absolute and relative frequency of the sample students' responses to each of the 30 items of the LAAS.

As explained previously, the LAAS consists of items dealing with student perceptions of teachers, curriculum, administration, extra-curricular activities, and school facilities, as well as items which attempt to explore the way in which a student perceives himself in relation to school, his peers, and education in general. By looking at the student responses in each of these areas, it is possible to see what aspects of independent schools black students felt most positive about and also those areas in which their reactions were more negative. To facilitate this investigation of the different areas of the school environments, in Table 6 the percentages of students strongly or moderately in agreement with a particular item of the LAAS will be combined with half the percentage of the undecided respondents. In a similar manner the two degrees of disagreement on an item will be combined with half the undecided respondents. In this way it can be suggested whether the majority of student respondents tended to agree or disagree with each item of the scale.

The majority of student respondents felt very positive about the physical facilities of their independent schools. In response to item 4, 88.8 percent of the students (including half the undecided's)

TABLE 6

TOTAL STUDENT RESPONSES TO THE INDIVIDUAL ITEMS OF THE LAAS

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
1. I go to school only because I have to.	11 2.8%	36 8.6%	10 2.5%	167 42.2%	174 43.9%
2. Teachers are usually understanding when a student does something wrong.*	10 2.5%	206 52.0%	33 8.3%	118 29.8%	29 7.3%
3. Only a few teachers can handle both the fast and slow students.	63 15.9%	166 41.9%	36 9.1%	108 27.3%	23 5.8%
4. School facilities make it difficult to be a good student.	10 2.5%	24 6.1%	21 5.3%	199 50.3%	142 35.9%
5. If I had my choice, I would choose to go to another school.	35 8.8%	61 15.4%	50 12.6%	155 39.1%	95 24.0%
6. My teachers really know me.*	19 4.8%	81 20.5%	36 9.1%	141 35.6%	119 30.1%
7. There are few activities that I care to join in school.	59 14.9%	148 37.4%	14 3.5%	122 30.8%	53 13.4%
8. There is little opportunity in school to do the things I enjoy doing.	68 17.2%	136 34.3%	16 4.0%	130 32.8%	46 11.6%
9. I would like to take an active part in school elections.*	54 13.6%	150 37.9%	50 12.6%	123 31.1%	19 4.8%

TABLE 6--Continued

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
10. Most of my classes are boring and have no connection with my life today.	39 9.8%	84 21.2%	26 6.6%	193 48.7%	54 13.6%
11. In this school, students treat each other with respect.*	16 4.0%	141 35.6%	35 8.8%	125 31.6%	79 19.9%
12. Students don't have enough books and materials available to them in this school.	5 1.3%	16 4.0%	6 1.5%	145 36.6%	224 56.6%
13. A student can take little pride in the appearance of this school.	23 5.8%	55 13.9%	38 9.6%	148 37.4%	132 33.3%
14. Most of the classrooms in this school seem dull and unexciting.	56 14.1%	124 31.3%	27 6.8%	158 39.9%	31 7.8%
15. Teachers are considerate of my feelings.*	22 5.6%	185 46.7%	57 14.4%	98 24.7%	34 8.6%
16. My own opinions are just as important as the opinions of other students.*	175 44.2%	166 41.9%	15 3.8%	33 8.3%	7 1.8%
17. Assignments need to be more understandable.	25 6.3%	126 31.8%	31 7.8%	190 48.0%	24 6.1%
18. I feel that I am doing well in school.*	52 13.1%	199 50.3%	32 8.1%	90 22.7%	23 5.8%

TABLE 6--Continued

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
19. Homework assignments are not purposeful.	13 3.3%	37 9.3%	44 11.1%	237 59.8%	65 16.4%
20. I think that I will earn awards by the time I finish high school.*	54 13.6%	136 34.3%	68 17.2%	95 24.0%	43 10.9%
21. Teachers do too much talking in class.	26 6.6%	102 25.8%	39 9.8%	215 54.3%	14 3.5%
22. I can express strong personal beliefs in my classes.*	52 13.1%	170 42.9%	24 6.1%	100 25.3%	50 12.6%
23. I can understand the teachers most of the time.*	46 11.6%	267 67.4%	10 2.5%	63 15.9%	10 2.5%
24. Teachers have an "I don't care" attitude when a student needs extra attention.	10 2.5%	29 7.3%	29 7.3%	210 53.0%	118 29.8%
25. I like to support the big school events.*	44 11.1%	149 37.6%	51 12.9%	116 29.3%	36 9.1%
26. This school is more concerned with rules and regulations than with what we are learning.	68 17.2%	81 20.5%	53 13.4%	157 39.6%	37 9.3%
27. My school subjects are related to what I want to do with my life after high school graduation.*	46 11.6%	149 37.6%	44 11.1%	98 24.7%	59 14.9%

TABLE 6—Continued

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
28. The textbooks are understandable.*	43 10.9%	277 69.9%	23 5.8%	48 12.1%	5 1.3%
29. A student needs permission to do most things in this school.	128 32.3%	144 36.4%	18 4.5%	93 23.5%	13 3.3%
30. High school education makes a person a better citizen in the community.*	85 21.5%	127 32.1%	67 16.9%	62 15.7%	55 13.9%

*Score on these positive items is reversed before computing LAAS total score.

disagreed with the statement, "school facilities make it difficult to be a good student." Responses were also overwhelmingly positive to items 12 and 13: "students don't have enough books and materials available to them in this school" (93.95 percent disagreeing), and "a student can take little pride in the appearance of this school" (75.5 percent in disagreement). The final item concerning school facilities (item 14--"most of the classrooms in this school seem dull and unexciting") elicited a lesser majority of positive responses, but a majority nevertheless, with 51.1 percent of the respondents in disagreement with the statement.

The next area in which responses to the LAAS were uniformly positive was school curriculum. Again referring to Table 6, by a large majority students responded favorably to the following items related to the curriculum in their independent schools: item 10--"most of my classes are boring and have no connection with my life today" (65.6 percent of the respondents disagreed with this statement); item 17--"assignments need to be more understandable" (58 percent in disagreement); item 19--"homework assignments are not purposeful" (81.7 percent disagreed); and item 28--"the textbooks are understandable" (83.7 percent in agreement).

One additional item dealing with curriculum (item 27--"my school subjects are related to what I want to do with my life after high school graduation") received approval by only a slight majority, 54.7 percent. From information presented in the review of literature in Chapter II of this paper, a possible hypothesis is suggested to explain some of the apparent discontent of black students with respect to the

relevancy of independent school curricula to their career plans after high school. Many black students in their public statements expressed a desire to return to their communities after completing their education in order to work for societal reforms and the amelioration of the condition of blacks in American society. Perhaps these students perceived the curricula of independent schools as not doing enough to prepare them for this type of service to the black community.

In their perceptions of their teachers, black students were generally positive, except in two important areas. In response to item 3 of the LAAS--"only a few teachers can handle both the fast and slow students"--62.35 percent of the black students indicated that this was in fact the case in their schools. In Chapter II of this paper, it was pointed out that most independent school teachers had very little experience either in working with students from other than middle class backgrounds or in teaching students with learning difficulties. These circumstances may have caused problems for those black students who, because of previous poor schooling, had difficulties adjusting to the academic requirements of independent schools.

The other item concerning teachers which elicited negative responses was item 6: "my teachers really know me." The number of black students disagreeing with this statement was 70.25 percent of the total sample. One possible explanation for the direction of responses on this item is suggested by the fact that so few independent schools have black faculty members. In the review of literature, black students spoke of the difficulty they often had in relating to their teachers because of racial and social differences. Since most

independent schools pride themselves on the role of teacher as counselor as well as scholar, responses to item 6 may indicate that this advantage of independent schooling is not being experienced by the majority of black students.

In varying degrees, black students responded favorably to the other items of the LAAS concerned with teachers. Some of the important items and the percentages of favorable responses are the following: item 2--"the teachers are usually understanding when a student does something wrong" (58.6 percent agreement); item 15--"teachers are considerate of my feelings" (59.5 percent agreement); item 21--"teachers do too much talking in class" (62.7 percent disagreement); item 23--"I can understand the teachers most of the time" (80.25 percent agreement); and item 24--"teachers have an 'I don't care' attitude when a student needs extra attention" (86.45 percent disagreement).

In the area of school administration, students by a slight majority responded positively to item 26: "this school is more concerned with rules and regulations than with what we are learning" (55.6 percent disagreement). The other item concerned with administration elicited negative responses. On item 29, 70.95 percent of the students agreed with this statement: "a student needs permission to do most things in this school."

By their responses on the LAAS, black students appeared to have a high degree of self-esteem and in general held positive views on the role of education in society. Of the respondents, 67.45 percent felt that they were "doing well in school" (item 18) and 56.5 percent felt that they would "earn awards by the time they finished high school"

(item 20). In disagreement with item 1--"I go to school only because I have to"--were 87.35 percent of the students, and 62.05 percent of them felt that "high school education makes a person a better citizen in the community" (item 30). Again by a large majority (88 percent), most of the students felt that their "own opinions were just as important as the opinions of other students" (item 16) and 59.05 percent felt that they could "express strong personal beliefs in [their] classes" (item 22).

In response to item 5, only 30.5 percent of the students agreed with the statement: "if I had my choice I would choose to go to another school." Based on this one item alone, it is strongly suggested that in general 69.4 percent of the students in the study were relatively content with their independent schools.

In the area of relationships with peers, only 44 percent of the black respondents felt that students in their schools treated "each other with respect" (item 11). Responses to this item differed from the results of the ABC study discussed in Chapter II. The ABC program found that a majority of its participants (64 percent) felt that students in their independent schools treated each other fairly.⁶

In responding to those items of the LAAS related to extra-curricular activities in their schools, black students were generally negative. Of the respondents, 54.05 percent agreed with item 7--"there are few activities that I care to join in school;" and 53.5 percent agreed with item 8--"there is little opportunity in school to do the

⁶Perry, A Better Chance, p. 152.

things I enjoy doing." Responses to the other two items of the scale concerned with extra-curricular activities only garnered a small positive majority: item 9--"I would like to take an active part in school elections" (57.8 percent in agreement); and item 25--"I like to support the big school events" (55.5 percent agreement). This lack of enthusiasm for their schools' extra-curricular programs lends support to the suggestions of other researchers (Chapter II) that many black students find the social and out of class activities of independent schools often incongruous with black life styles.

In summary, the examination of responses to the various subscales of the LAAS indicates that black students are generally very positive with respect to the curricula and physical facilities of their independent schools. They perceived themselves positively with respect to their relationships to school and education. Although they viewed their teachers positively insofar as their academic qualifications were concerned, they felt that their teachers had difficulty relating to them on a personal level. They thought the students in their schools did not treat each other with respect, and they perceived school administration as exerting a great deal of control over their lives. As measured by the LAAS, black students seemed most estranged from their independent schools in the area of extra-curricular activities, stating that they had little interest in the planned activities of their schools, and at the same time finding it difficult to do the things they enjoyed doing. Despite some of these negative feelings, the majority of the students indicated they would choose to attend their schools if they had it to do over again. These findings were

similar in many respects to those of other researchers discussed in Chapter II, who reported that black students attend independent schools mainly for academic reasons and will put up with temporary discomforts and inconveniences if they feel they are benefiting from a "good" educational program.

School independent variables

A description of the sample schools (N=36) broken down by the independent school variables is presented in Table 7.

Size of schools. For the variable SCHSIZE (as measured by total student enrollment), it is noticed that most schools in the sample (80.6%) enrolled 400 or less students. Only 4 schools had enrollments of from 401 to 600 students, and only 3 schools had student enrollments of more than 600. The proportion of small to medium to large schools in this sample corresponds fairly accurately with the picture for NAIS New England schools, as well as for independent schools nationwide.

Black enrollment percentages. The breakdown of the school sample along the variable BLACPER (percent of school enrollment that is black) is also relatively consistent with statistics for NAIS schools nationwide. In the present study, schools reporting black student enrollments of more than 10 percent their total number of students comprised 11.1 percent of the sample. In the 1971-72 NAIS minority group survey, only 8.9 percent of all NAIS schools reported minority enrollment (all minorities) of more than 10 percent.⁷

⁷National Association of Independent Schools, Minority Group Survey 1971-72, p. 3.

TABLE 7
DESCRIPTION OF THE SAMPLE SCHOOLS

Variable Name	Categories	Absolute Frequency	Relative Frequency
SCHTYPE*	Coed boarding	10	27.8%
	Boys boarding	10	27.8%
	Girls boarding	5	13.9%
	Coed day	3	8.3%
	Boys day	3	8.3%
	Girls day	5	13.3%
SCHSIZE*	200 or less	15	41.7%
	201 to 400	14	38.9%
	401 to 600	4	11.1%
	Over 600	3	8.3%
BLACPER*	Under 2%	6	16.7%
	2% to 3.9%	13	36.1%
	4% to 5.9%	6	16.7%
	6% to 7.9%	6	16.7%
	8% to 10%	1	2.8%
	Over 10%	4	11.1%

TABLE 7--Continued

Variable Name	Categories	Absolute Frequency	Relative Frequency
BLACTEA*	No black teachers	16	44.4%
	Part-time black teachers	6	16.7%
	Full-time black teachers	12	33.3%
	No answer	2	5.6%
BLACCOM*	In same town	8	22.2%
	Within 10 miles	12	33.3%
	Within 10-25 miles	11	30.6%
	More than 25 miles	5	13.9%
STRCTUR*	Low structure	10	27.8%
	Medium structure	13	36.1%
	High structure	11	30.6%
	No answer	2	5.6%

*SCHTYPE=Type of school

*SCHSIZE=Size of school as measured by total student enrollment

*BLACPER=Percentage of black students in total school enrollment

*BLACTEA=Black teachers employed in a school

*BLACCOM=Location of nearest black community to a school

*STRCTUR=Degree of structure with respect to how a school regulates daily lives of students

If the New England secondary schools are representative of NAIS schools nationwide, this difference in percentages suggests that black student enrollment increased slightly from the time of the 1971-72 NAIS survey to when this study was conducted in 1973. NAIS also reported in the same survey that 71.6 percent of its schools had less than 5 percent minority enrollment. In the present study 61.15 percent of the sample schools had less than 5 percent black enrollment.

Black teachers. Again referring to Table 7, 44.4 percent of the sample schools reported that they employed no black teachers; 16.7 percent had at least one part-time black teacher and no full-time black teachers; and 33.3 percent of the schools had at least one full-time black teacher.

Of the six schools employing part-time but no full-time black teachers, four had one such teacher and each of the other two schools employed two part-time black teachers.

Of the twelve schools with at least one full-time black teacher, two also employed part-time black teachers (5 in one school and 1 in the other). Two of the twelve schools employed two black teachers each and all ten others only had one full-time black teacher.

The total number of full-time teachers in the sample schools was 1,327; 14 or 1.05 percent of these teachers were black. The total number of part-time teachers in the sample schools was 272, of which 14 or 5.14 percent were black. The schools employed a total of 1,599 full and part-time teachers, of which 28 or 1.75 percent were black. The corresponding statistic for black teachers in NAIS schools in

1971-72 was 1.2 percent the total number of teachers.⁸ Thus, if the schools in the sample are again representative of NAIS schools nationwide, there was only a very slight increase in black teachers in independent schools from 1971-72 to 1973.

Location of nearest black community. The variable BLACCOM described the proximity of schools to black communities, with community defined as a black population large enough to have established a predominantly black church. In the present study, 22.2 percent of the schools were located in towns which had such a black community. Another 33.3 percent of the schools were located in towns or districts without a black community but within ten miles of such a community. Another 30.6 percent of the schools were located within 10 to 25 miles of the nearest black community. Finally, 13.9 percent of the schools were located at a distance of more than 25 miles from the nearest black community. All of the 5 schools in this last category were boarding schools located in rural New England--an area which has traditionally had few black inhabitants.

Degree of structure. The final school independent variable presented in Table 7 is degree of structure in schools (STRCTUR). The procedures for determining degree of structure were previously explained in Chapter III.

School dependent variable: school mean LAAS score

The dependent variable for schools was formed by computing the

⁸Ibid., p. 4.

mean LAAS score for black students in each of the 36 schools. The composite data on the school mean LAAS score is presented in Table 8.

TABLE 8
SCHOOL MEAN LAAS SCORE

Number of Schools	Mean School LAAS	S.D.	Median	Range	Min.	Max.
36	99.481	9.454	100.40	46.00	69.00	115.00

As with student total LAAS scores across schools, the mean LAAS score for schools (SMNLAAS) had a possible range of a negative low score of 30 to a high or positive score of 150. The interpretation of a high SMNLAAS for a school would be that the particular school environment was perceived very positively by its black students; a low SMNLAAS would indicate that a school environment was perceived negatively by its students. Since SMNLAAS is no more than the mean student LAAS score within each school, either extreme of the possible range of scores could only have been obtained if all students in a particular school had scored uniformly low or uniformly high on the LAAS. In this study the actual range of SMNLAAS scores was from a low of 69 to a high of 115. The mean SMNLAAS was 99.481 with a standard deviation of 9.454. The median SMNLAAS was 100.40.

Profiles of schools with lowest and highest SMNLAAS. As was done with individual student scores, a description of the two schools

at the opposite ends of the range of SMNLAAS scores is interesting as a non-scientific method of comparing schools. The school with the lowest SMNLAAS score (69) was a girls' boarding school with a total enrollment of 200 or less. The black student enrollment was less than 2 percent of total enrollment and the school employed no full- or part-time black teachers. The nearest black community to the school was located at a distance of from 10 to 25 miles. The school was among that group of schools classified as being low in structure.

The school with the highest SMNLAAS score (115) was a coed boarding school with a total enrollment of from 201 to 400 students. The black student enrollment in this school was from 2 to 3.9 percent of the total student enrollment. The school employed one part-time black teacher and was located from within 10 to 25 miles of the nearest black community. The school was classified as being low in structure.

These two schools differed along the variables of sex of students, size of school, percentage of black students, and presence of black teachers in the school. In the second section of this chapter, the analysis of the data will suggest whether any of these characteristics of the sample schools are significantly correlated with SMNLAAS score.

Analysis of Student Data

Analysis of the total student scores on the LAAS (LAAS TOT) and school mean LAAS scores (SMNLAAS) and their respective student and school independent variables, for reasons explained in Chapter III, utilized Kendall's method of computing correlation coefficients rather

than the more standard Pearson product moment correlations. In addition, a one way analysis of variance was performed on the LAAS scores for each variable to determine if mean scores for the different values of a variable were significantly different.

The correlations between LAASTOT scores and the selected student variables ranged from .057 to $-.146$. Correlation coefficients for all student independent variables with LAASTOT are presented in Table 9. In the separate investigation of each of the null hypotheses of the study related to student variables which follows, reference will be made to the correlation coefficients shown in Table 9.

Hypothesis #1: there will be no relationships between the sex of students (SEX) and LAAS total score (LAASTOT)

The mean student LAASTOT scores classified along the variable SEX are presented in Table 10.

Although the mean LAASTOT score of female black students was slightly higher than the mean LAASTOT for black males, the correlation coefficient between SEX and LAASTOT ($.014$) was only significant at the $.388$ or higher confidence level (Table 9). The results of the one way analysis of variance on the variable SEX also indicated that there were no statistically significant differences in LAASTOT scores between males and females. This accumulated evidence does not support the rejection of the null hypothesis and suggests the conclusion that the sex of black students does not significantly affect their perceptions of their independent schools.

TABLE 9
CORRELATIONS (KENDALL'S TAU) BETWEEN LAAS TOTAL SCORE (LAASTOT)
AND SELECTED STUDENT VARIABLES

Student Variable	Kendall's Tau	Significance Level
SEX	.014	.338
YRSNSCH	-.034	.160
AGE	-.051	.065
GRADE	-.034	.155
AVERAGE	-.146**	.001
HOMLOCA	.025	.233
HOMETYP	.026	.226
RACECOM	.057*	.046
FINANAD	-.023	.247
ABC	.041	.115

*P < .05

**P < .01

TABLE 10
LAASTOT SCORE BY SEX

	Value	Number	Mean LAASTOT	Standard Deviation
Male	01	233	99.700	15.322
Female	02	163	99.847	16.593
Total		396	99.760	15.837

Although black males and females did not significantly vary in their perceptions of independent schools as measured by scores on the LAAS, it is interesting to note that in response to item #5 of the scale ("if I had my choice I would choose to go to another school") there was a significant difference in responses based on sex. This was in fact the only student variable which correlated significantly with item #5. Females agreed more with this statement than did males and at a statistically significant level ($P < .05$). The contradiction between responses to this specific item and total perception of independent schools is similar in some respects to the findings of Perry in the ABC study. As discussed in Chapter II (page 63 above), Perry found that black females in the ABC program had a lower attrition rate than black males, although the females were less enthusiastic than the males in advising the program to continue to place blacks in independent schools. Mallery in his study of blacks in independent schools

(page 39 above) also reported that females seemed to find adjustment to the schools more difficult than males, and mainly for social reasons.

From the Mallery and Perry studies and the findings of the present investigation, it seems that black females have on one hand greater reservations than black males about the independent school experience. These reservations, however, do not seem to be sufficiently strong to increase their attrition rate nor to cause them to react differently than males to the total independent school experience. One tentative explanation of this apparent contradiction in attitudes may suggest that black females are more inclined than black males to put up with temporary inconveniences in independent schools because of the long term perceived benefits of attendance at such schools. Subjectively, the females would therefore personally not choose to undergo the experience again; but at the same time they are able to objectively perceive the advantages of the experience.

Another possible reason why females did not differ significantly from males in LAAS score, despite suggestions in the review of literature that females adjusted with more difficulty than males to independent schools, may be the result of an improved social situation for black females in these schools. With the development of the "black power" movement and increased opportunities for students in different independent schools to interact with one another, black females may no longer be forced to spend their years in independent schools without a satisfactory social life. These explanations are, of course, tentative and more research is indicated in the total area of differences

and similarities in the way black females and males react to educational environments.

Hypothesis #2: there will be no relationships between the length of time in attendance at a particular school (YRSNSCH) and LAAS total score (LAASTOT)

Mean student LAASTOT scores for the different values of the variable YRSNSCH are presented in Table 11.

TABLE 11
LAASTOT SCORE BY YRSNSCH

	Value	Number	Mean LAASTOT	Standard Deviation
1st year	01	130	101.131	13.868
2nd year	02	116	99.741	14.663
3rd year	03	79	98.633	17.778
4th year	04	52	98.827	19.617
5th year	05	11	100.364	19.423
More than 5 years	06	7	95.286	11.280
Total		395	99.795	15.842

The highest mean LAASTOT score was obtained by students in their first year in particular independent schools. The lowest mean LAASTOT score was for the small group of students who had spent more than five years in their present independent schools.

The correlation coefficient between YRSNSCH and LAASTOT was $-.034$ (Table 9). Although this indicates that perception of the school environment has a tendency to become less positive as the number of years in a school increases, the computed degree of relationship is only significant at the .160 or higher level of confidence. Similarly, there is a negative, but statistically non-significant correlation between LAASTOT and those variables closely related to YRSNSCH, grade in school and age of student. The one way analysis of variance performed on YRSNSCH also failed to show any statistically significant difference between the mean LAASTOT scores for the different values of the variable. Therefore, the accumulated evidence does not support the rejection of the null hypothesis at the predetermined .05 confidence level and suggests the conclusion that the number of years spent in a particular independent school does not significantly affect black students' perceptions of the school environment.

In his ABC study (page 65 above), Perry found that ABC students who entered independent schools at a younger age had higher attrition rates than those students who entered at an older age. If Perry's finding for black ABC students can be generalized to all independent school black students, then support is given to the direction of the negative, but statistically non-significant, correlation between YRSNSCH and LAAS score. The findings of the two studies when taken together suggests that the longer black students remain in an independent school, the less positive their perceptions of that school environment. If all the students who entered independent schools remained until graduation, perhaps the correlation between YRSNSCH and LAAS score would

have been stronger (perhaps even statistically significant). It is safe to assume that the longer the period of time spent in a particular school, the greater the opportunity for those students who are most dissatisfied with the environment to drop out. Therefore, by a process of natural selection, those students with the greatest dissatisfaction have probably already dropped out by the third or fourth year, which would have affected the correlation found in this study between YRSNSCH and LAASTOT.

Hypothesis #3: there will be no relationships between student grades (AVERAGE) and LAAS total score (LAASTOT)

Mean student LAASTOT scores for the different values of AVERAGE (student estimate of academic grade average) are presented in Table 12. An examination of the data in this table suggests that the higher the value of AVERAGE, the more positive the perception of the school environment as measured by score on the LAAS. The correlation coefficient between AVERAGE and LAASTOT supports this relationship. From Table 9, the $-.146$ value of the correlation coefficient is statistically significant at the $.001$ level of confidence. The actual correlation coefficient is a negative number because of the values assigned to the variable AVERAGE (from a low of 01 for grades of "A" to a high of 09 for grades of "F"); the actual correlation, however, is positive: the higher the grade average, the higher the LAAS score.

The one way analysis of variance lends further support to the significance of the computed correlation. The results of this analysis may be represented in the following way, with the numbers referring to the different values of the variable AVERAGE as shown in Table 12.

TABLE 12
LAASTOT SCORE BY AVERAGE

	Value	Number	Mean LAASTOT	Standard Deviation
Mostly A's	01	13	112.923	20.978
Mostly A's and B's	02	52	104.096	16.524
Mostly B's	03	69	102.246	15.720
Mostly B's and C's	04	151	98.417	15.502
Mostly C's	05	55	96.873	14.327
Mostly C's and D's	06	44	96.114	14.812
Mostly D's	07	6	90.667	7.659
Mostly D's and F's	08	4	103.750	13.525
Total		394	99.778	15.867

07 06 05 04 03 08 02 01

In the underscored groups, no pair of groups have mean LAAS scores that differ by more than the shortest significant range ($P \leq .05$) for a group of that size. Those groups then which are connected by the underscoring lines are statistically similar and those which are unconnected are different at the .05 level of confidence. Therefore, the mean LAAS score of students in group 01 is statistically similar to mean scores for groups 02 and 08 but significantly higher than the mean scores of all the remaining groups.

The accumulated evidence from the correlation and one way analysis of variance supports therefore the rejection of the null hypothesis and suggests the conclusion that students who are achieving a measure of success in school tend to perceive the school environment more positively than those who are having less success academically.

Although the correlation between grade average and LAAS score indicates that in general black students with lower grades perceive their independent schools less positively than students with higher grades, the one way analysis of variance showed that one group of low achievers (the four students with averages of "D" and "F") were statistically similar in their mean LAAS score to students with "A" averages. Although four students may be too small a number on which to base conclusions, it is interesting nevertheless to suggest some possible reasons as to why these students, academically at the bottom of their classes, were so positive in their perceptions of their independent

schools. Because of their poor academic performance, it is very likely that the "D" and "F" students were receiving special attention in the form of extra help and concern from their teachers. This attention may, in turn, have caused them to react positively to the school environment. Or perhaps these positive perceptions were nurtured by a sense of gratitude the students felt towards their schools for not dismissing, and continuing to work with them in spite of their poor academic records.

In the previous research in the area, it was emphasized that most black students attend independent schools for academic, rather than social reasons. The findings of the present study with respect to the significant correlation between academic performance and perception of schools support the conclusions reached in previous research. If black students feel that they are having a successful academic experience as measured by high grades, then they tend to be relatively content with their independent schools. Since Quinlan in his work with the LAAS also found a strong correlation between grade average and scores of white public school students on the scale,⁹ the relationship between perception of school climate and academic success may not be restricted to blacks and independent schools, but may be valid for all students and schools.

Hypothesis #4: there will be no relationships between student home communities (HOMLOCA and HOMETYP) and LAAS total score (LAASTOT)

Mean LAAS scores for the different values of the variables

⁹Quinlan, "A Comparison of Total Scores on the Learning Atmosphere Attitude Scale with High School Student Characteristics and Behaviors," p. 114.

HOMLOCA and HOMETYP are presented in Tables 13 and 14, respectively. The arrangement of the values of the variable HOMLOCA was such that the greater the value the farther in distance was the student's home community from his independent school. The positive correlation of .025 (Table 9) does indicate some degree of relationship between the variables HOMLOCA and LAASTOT. This correlation, however, is only significant at the .233 or higher level of confidence.

TABLE 13
LAASTOT SCORE BY HOMLOCA

	Value	Number	Mean LAASTOT	Standard Deviation
Northeast	01	288	99.740	15.835
Southeast	02	40	99.600	16.945
Middle West	03	31	103.452	11.798
Southwest	04	10	89.000	16.713
West	05	5	104.800	17.196
West Indies	06	7	95.857	21.389
Outside the U.S. and W. Indies	07	9	105.889	10.422
Total		390	99.882	15.774

TABLE 14
LAASTOT SCORE BY HOMETYP

	Value	Number	Mean LAASTOT	Standard Deviation
Urban	01	272	99.496	15.157
Rural	02	31	98.710	17.550
Suburban	03	88	100.864	17.661
Total		391	99.742	15.916

Another way of analyzing the data on the variable HOMLOCA does not depend on the distance of home community from school, but rather on whether students from particular geographic regions perceive their independent schools more positively than students from other regions. A one way analysis of variance provides a means of determining whether differences in mean LAAS scores of students from different regions are statistically significant. From Table 13 it is noted that the lowest mean LAASTOT was obtained by black students from the Southwest, followed next by students from the West Indies. The highest mean score belonged to students living outside the United States and West Indies, followed by students from the West coast of the United States. Mean LAAS scores for students in the Middle West, Southeast, and Northeast fell in between these two extremes.

The results of the one way analysis of variance for the different values of the variable HOMLOCA can be represented as follows:

04 06 02 01 03 05 07

At the .05 level of confidence, the mean LAAS score of groups 07 and 04 are statistically significantly different, although both are statistically similar to all the other groups. No possible explanation presents itself as to why black students living outside the United States and West Indies should score significantly higher on the LAAS than black students from the Southwest.

Students whose home communities were suburban scored higher on the LAAS than students from urban and rural communities (Table 14). The correlation coefficient between HOMETYP and LAAS score was .026, which was not significant at the .05 or lower confidence level. A one way analysis of variance on the variable HOMETYP also did not show any statistically significant differences in mean LAAS scores for students from the three different types of home communities.

Although the analysis of mean LAAS scores of students from the Southwest and those from outside the United States and West Indies were statistically different, the overall evidence on both variables HOMLOCA and HOMETYP does not support the rejection of the null hypothesis. The conclusion suggested, therefore, is that type and location of black students' home communities do not significantly affect their perceptions of independent school environments as measured by scores on the LAAS.

It will be recalled that with ABC students Perry found lower attrition among those from the South (page 64 above). He also mentioned that many independent school people reported that black southern students

were more highly motivated than black students from other parts of the country. If these observations were valid, it might have been assumed that black students from the South would obtain higher scores on the LAAS than their peers from other parts of the country. The results of the present study, however, do not support this assumption.

The fact that black students from suburban regions scored higher on the LAAS than blacks from urban and rural areas may be a reflection of the middle class nature of American suburban communities. It is possible that blacks living in these areas share many of the values of their white neighbors and would therefore adjust more easily to the middle and upper class values of most independent schools. Since the higher LAAS scores of blacks from suburban communities were not, however, statistically significant, the suggestion that these scores may be related to social class differences is only tentative. Further research in this area is warranted.

Hypothesis #5: there will be no relationships between students' previous school contacts with whites (RACECOM) and LAAS total score (LAASTOT)

The mean LAAS scores for the different values of the variable RACECOM are presented in Table 15. Discounting the one student who had previously not attended another school (since all of his schooling would have been in a majority or nearly all white school as this was the racial composition of all the schools in the sample), the lowest mean score on the LAAS was obtained by students who had attended all black schools before coming to independent schools. The highest mean LAAS score was obtained by the group of black students whose previous

TABLE 15
LAASTOT SCORE BY RACECOM

	Value	Number	Mean LAASTOT	Standard Deviation
All black	01	137	97.336	17.148
Majority black	02	68	101.588	12.565
Equally black and white	03	49	101.143	17.038
Majority white	04	70	100.457	15.344
Nearly all white	05	68	101.662	15.613
No other school	06	1	80.000	-----
Total		393	99.807	15.882

education had been in nearly all white schools. The correlation coefficient between RACECOM and LAASTOT was .057, which is significant at the .05 level of confidence. The one way analysis of variance for the variable RACECOM did not show any significant differences between the mean LAAS scores for any pairs of groups at the .05 or lower level of confidence. The evidence presented by the correlation coefficient does appear to be strong enough, however, to support the rejection of the null hypothesis and suggests the conclusion that the greater the previous school contact with whites, the more positive will be black students' perceptions of their independent school environments as measured by LAAS scores.

Three possible explanations of why amount of school contact with whites before attending independent schools seems to be related to the way in which blacks perceive their independent schools are worth mentioning here. On the one hand, blacks who have attended schools with whites have first hand knowledge of some of the social mores of white society and therefore perhaps experience less culture shock upon entering the world of the independent school. It is also likely that many of the blacks from predominantly white schools, due to many school districting patterns along economic lines, are members of the middle or upper middle class. As such, they may be disposed to fit into the patterns of independent schools.

Secondly, blacks who have previously attended schools with whites have probably had experience in dealing with the racism of some of their white peers and are therefore better prepared for the overt or covert racism they may encounter in independent schools.

Finally, blacks who have previously attended schools with whites have probably learned that they can successfully compete academically with their white peers. Black students coming from predominantly black schools may initially be overwhelmed by the academic work load in independent schools and may question their ability to compete successfully in such an environment. The anxieties caused by this fear of failure may contribute to negative attitudes about the school environment.

Hypothesis #6: there will be no relationships between the amount of financial aid received by students (FINANAD) and LAAS total score (LAASTOT)

The mean LAAS scores for black students according to the amount

of financial aid they received to attend their independent schools are presented in Table 16.

TABLE 16
LAASTOT SCORE BY FINANAD

	Value	Number	Mean LAASTOT	Standard Deviation
None	01	52	98.173	17.727
1 to 25%	02	17	101.824	19.340
26 to 50%	03	30	100.067	15.523
51 to 75%	04	44	104.614	12.901
76 to 100%	05	240	98.942	15.627
Yes, but no amount given	06	8	99.875	18.894
Total		391	99.708	15.886

The lowest mean score on the LAAS was for the group of students who received no financial aid, followed by those who received almost full aid (from 76 to 100%). The highest mean LAAS score was for the group of students receiving from 51 to 75 percent financial aid. A one way analysis of variance for the variable FINANAD showed that none of the differences in mean scores between the groups were statistically significant. There was a negative correlation between FINANAD and LAASTOT, but the $-.023$ value of the correlation coefficient was not significant at the .05 or lower level of confidence. The negative

correlation indicates that overall, as the amount of financial aid increases, scores on the LAAS tend to decrease. The total evidence, however, does not support the rejection of the null hypothesis and suggests the conclusion that financial aid is not significantly related to perception of school environment as measured by the LAAS.

For several reasons, it might have been expected that students receiving no financial aid would have scored significantly higher on the LAAS than students receiving aid. Because the non-aid students would have the economic means, it could have been assumed that they would choose the independent schools they preferred; whereas scholarship students would have to attend the schools that offered them financial assistance. Also, students whose families were able to pay the charges of independent schools, being in a higher economic bracket, would have been thought to possess many of the upper middle class values of the independent schools. It could have been expected that they would therefore adapt more readily to independent schools than their black peers who were financially less well off. The evidence does not, however, support either of these assumptions.

One possible reason as to why those black students not on financial aid received lower scores than those receiving aid may have something to do with the identity crisis faced by many economically advantaged blacks when in situations where they have to relate to poorer blacks. Since the majority of black students in the sample schools received financial aid, those not on aid may have experienced personal tension in their schools as they attempted to find their place among their black and white peers. The pangs of this identity crisis

may have caused these students to react negatively to their schools.

The lower scores of those students receiving full financial aid than of those on partial aid may be rooted in the tendency of some schools to consciously or unconsciously make full scholarship students feel like charity cases. This is only a possible explanation, however, and more research is needed. It would also seem profitable for further research to explore whether the ratio of scholarship to paying students in a school affects student perceptions of the total school environment.

Hypothesis #7: there will be no relationships between participation in the ABC program (ABC) and LAAS total score (LAASTOT)

The mean LAAS scores of students in the ABC program and those not in the program are presented in Table 17. The mean score for non-ABC participants was higher than the mean score for members of the ABC program. The correlation between ABC and LAASTOT, having a value of .041, was not significant at the .05 or lower confidence level. The one way analysis of variance on the variable ABC also did not indicate any significant differences between the mean LAAS scores of the two groups.

Based on this accumulated evidence there is not sufficient support for the rejection of the null hypothesis and the conclusion suggested is that affiliation with the ABC program does not affect student perceptions of independent schools as measured by the LAAS.

TABLE 17
LAASTOT SCORE BY ABC

	Value	Number	Mean LAASTOT	Standard Deviation
ABC participant	01	150	98.993	15.197
Non ABC participant	02	243	100.350	16.290
Total		393	99.832	15.876

Analysis of School Data

The analysis of the mean LAAS scores for students in each of the 36 schools with the selected school variables also utilized Kendall's method of computing correlation coefficients. In addition, as with the student variables, a one way analysis of variance was performed on each of the school variables to determine if any of the mean LAAS scores for the different values of a variable differed significantly from one another.

The correlations between school mean LAAS scores (SMNLAAS) and the selected school variables ranged from .267 to -.233. Correlation coefficients for all the school independent variables with SMNLAAS are presented in Table 18. In the separate discussion of each of the null hypotheses of the study related to school characteristics, reference will be made to the correlation coefficients shown in this table.

TABLE 18

CORRELATIONS (KENDALL'S TAU) BETWEEN SCHOOL MEAN LAAS SCORE
(SMNLAAS) AND SELECTED SCHOOL VARIABLES

School Variable	Kendall's Tau	Significance Level
SCHTYPE	-.079	.246
SCHSIZE	.267*	.011
BLACPER	-.169	.074
BLACTEA	-.058	.315
BLACCOM	.017	.444
STRCTUR	-.233*	.027

* $p < .05$

Hypothesis #8: there will be no relationships between school type (SCHTYPE) and school mean LAAS score (SMNLAAS)

The mean SMNLAAS scores for the six different types of schools are presented in Table 19.

The order of mean SMNLAAS from highest to lowest for the different school types was as follows: coed boarding, boys day, girls day, coed day, boys boarding, and girls boarding. The mean SMNLAAS for all day schools combined (101.054) was greater than for all boarding schools combined (98.788).

The computed correlation coefficient between SCHTYPE and SMNLAAS was $-.079$ (Table 18). Interpreted, this would indicate that as one proceeds from coed boarding to girls day school along the values of

TABLE 19
SMNLAAS SCORE BY SCHTYPE

	Value	Number	Mean SMNLAAS	Standard Deviation
Coed boarding	01	10	102.650	7.318
Boys boarding	02	10	98.200	8.663
Girls boarding	03	5	92.240	16.803
Coed day	04	3	98.567	5.509
Boys day	05	3	102.167	7.845
Girls day	06	5	101.880	7.515
Total		36	99.480	9.454

SCHTYPE in Table 19, SMNLAAS would have a tendency to decrease. The value of tau, however, is not statistically significant at the .05 confidence criterion level for rejection of the null hypotheses. Furthermore, the correlation coefficient is an inadequate measure of the possible relationships between SCHTYPE and SMNLAAS since the variable SCHTYPE is nominal rather than ordinal and does not completely lend itself to the Kendall test of correlation.

A more appropriate way of analyzing relationships between SCHTYPE and SMNLAAS is through a one way analysis of variance. The results of this analysis can be represented in the following manner:

03 02 04 06 05 01

Those values of the variable SCHTYPE which are connected by the underscoring lines are similar and those unconnected are different. The above diagram shows the differences and similarities in the groups of school types at the .10 or higher confidence level. At this level, the mean SMNLAAS of groups 01 (coed boarding) and 03 (girls boarding) are statistically significantly different, although each is similar to the intervening groups of schools in the diagram.

At the .05 or lower level of confidence, at which all the hypotheses of the study were tested, the difference between the mean scores of groups 01 and 03 is no longer, however, statistically significant. Therefore, the accumulated evidence is not sufficient to support the rejection of the null hypothesis and the conclusion suggested is that black student perceptions of the school environment is not influenced in this study by type of independent school attended.

Hypothesis #9: there will be no relationships between school total enrollment (SCHSIZE) and school mean LAAS score (SMNLAAS)

The mean SMNLAAS for the different values of the variable SCHSIZE are presented in Table 20.

The lowest mean SMNLAAS was obtained in the smallest (enrollment of 200 or less) schools of the study. The highest mean SMNLAAS was for schools of medium size (enrollment of 201 to 400). The mean SMNLAAS for schools with an enrollment of more than 400 was greater than the mean SMNLAAS for small schools, but not as great as mean SMNLAAS for medium sized schools.

The degree of correlation between SCHSIZE and SMNLAAS was .267 (Table 18). This value of tau is significant at the .05 level of

TABLE 20
SMNLAAS SCORE BY SCHSIZE

	Value	Number	Mean SMNLAAS	Standard Deviation
200 or less	01	15	94.767	10.131
201 to 400	02	14	104.414	7.866
401 to 600	03	4	99.575	7.266
Over 600	04	3	99.900	5.196
Total		36	99.480	9.454

confidence. This would indicate that as the total enrollment of a school increases, student perception of the school environment as measured by the LAAS becomes more positive. It is impossible to say from the data available in this study at what upper student enrollment figure, this correlation would cease to be significant. The largest school in the present study had a total enrollment of 1,200, which makes it the largest independent boarding school in the country. Although nationwide there may be a few day schools which have enrollments greater than 1,200, there are no such NAIS schools located in New England, the area of the present study.

The one way analysis of variance supported the direction and significance of the correlation between SCHSIZE and SMNLAAS. At the .01 level of confidence, the differences and similarities between the mean SMNLAAS of the various groups of schools were as follows:

01 03 04 02

Groups 02 (enrollment 201 to 400) and 01 (enrollment less than 200) had statistically significantly different mean SMNLAAS, although neither of the two groups differed from groups 03 or 04.

The accumulated evidence supports then the rejection of the null hypothesis and suggests that for schools with enrollments up to 1200 students, there is a positive relationship between school size and black student perceptions of the school environment as measured by scores on the LAAS.

A possible explanation as to why smaller schools would solicit less positive reactions from black students than larger schools may have something to do with the social dynamics often at work in small school environments. In schools with an enrollment of less than 200, black students may have the feeling of always being on display and of having their every move carefully surveyed. Also, in the smaller schools, even if there is a large percentage of black students, the absolute number of different black people one can get to know is limited. Small schools may also be more homogeneous than larger schools and therefore more suspicious of persons from backgrounds other than the "normal" school constituency.

Curriculum may also be a negative aspect of small schools for some black students. Although small schools may be able to give more personal attention to the needs of individual students, the number and variety of courses they can offer is of financial necessity limited. Therefore, it would probably be more unlikely to find separate black

studies courses in a small school than in a large school.

In the medium sized school (enrollment 201 to 400) the course offerings can be increased, and there may also be more opportunities to have included in the student body students from more diverse backgrounds. In the medium sized school, it might be more possible than in the small school to receive personal attention without having the feeling of being smothered by it.

These are just a few of the possible explanations of the relationship between size and black attitudes towards school environment. Further research is indicated to determine which, if any, of the above explanations are indeed valid.

Hypothesis #10: there will be no relationships between black enrollment percentages (BLACPER) and school mean LAAS score (SMNLAAS)

The mean SMNLAAS scores for the different values of the school variable BLACPER are presented in Table 21.

The highest mean SMNLAAS for a value of the variable BLACPER was 111.000 and was obtained by the one school in the group of schools with black enrollment numbering from 8 to 10 percent of total student enrollment. The next highest mean SMNLAAS (104.923) was for the group of schools with black enrollment numbering from 2 to 3.9 percent of total enrollment. The lowest mean SMNLAAS was for the group of schools (N=4) with black enrollment numbering more than 10 percent of the total school population, followed by those schools (N=6) with black enrollment numbering less than 2 percent (95.050). The correlation between BLACPER and SMNLAAS was a $-.169$ (Table 18) which was not significant at the .05 or lower level of confidence. The one way analysis of

TABLE 21
SMNLAAS SCORE BY BLACPER

	Value	Number	Mean SMNLAAS	Standard Deviation
Under 2%	01	6	95.050	15.166
2% to 3.9%	02	13	104.923	6.838
4% to 5.9%	03	6	96.650	6.960
6% to 7.9%	04	6	96.400	7.959
8% to 10%	05	1	111.000	-----
Over 10%	06	4	94.425	2.266
Total		36	99.480	9.454

variance also indicated that none of the difference in mean SMNLAAS between the different values of BLACPER were statistically significant. The accumulated evidence, therefore, does not support the rejection of the null hypothesis and suggests the conclusion that there is no relationship between black enrollment percentages in a school and the way in which students perceive the school environment as measured by score on the LAAS.

One possible explanation of why the two groups of schools with the highest and lowest percentages of black enrollment both had lower mean SMNLAAS than the intervening groups might be the following: In schools with black enrollment of less than 2 percent, it can be hypothesized that students may be dissatisfied with the schools

because they perceive themselves as token blacks.

In schools where the number of black students is greater than 10 percent, it is possible that racial issues are no longer as important as in those schools where there are only a few blacks, and the resultant black student attitudes towards the schools are based on issues other than those closely connected with race. Since at present there are so few independent schools with black enrollment greater than 10 percent, it would almost be impossible to test this hypothesis, not to mention how black perceptions of independent schools would be affected if black enrollment percentages reached the 30, 40, or 50 percent level.

Hypothesis #10: there will be no relationships between the presence of black adults in or near a school (BLACTEA and BLACCOM) and school mean LAAS score (SMNLAAS)

The mean SMNLAAS scores for the different values of the variables BLACTEA and BLACCOM are presented in Tables 22 and 23, respectively.

The variables BLACTEA and BLACCOM were analyzed together because it was felt that if the presence of black adults was related to how black students perceived their independent school environments, then the adults might either be within a school or nearby in a local black community. Teachers would be the more preferable form of black adult input in a school, however, since they would be part of the regular school structure. The effects of a nearby black community on the attitudes of black students in a school would depend in large part on whether the school tapped the resources of that community or ignored it completely. Nevertheless, even if the black community were never

TABLE 22
SMNLAAS SCORE BY BLACTEA

	Value	Number	Mean SMNLAAS	Standard Deviation
No black teachers	01	16	99.088	10.937
At least one part- time black teacher	02	6	104.717	7.933
At least one full- time black teacher	03	12	97.358	8.418
Total		34	99.471	9.707

TABLE 23
SMNLAAS SCORE BY BLACCOM

	Value	Number	Mean SMNLAAS	Standard Deviation
In same town	01	8	102.125	6.831
Within 10 miles	02	12	97.542	6.371
10 to 25 miles	03	11	98.627	13.825
More than 25 miles	04	5	101.780	8.778
Total		36	99.480	9.454

used as a resource by the school, it was thought that if one were nearby, black students might have established contacts with it on their own and that this would help to alleviate some of the cultural isolation many of them might feel in independent schools.

For the variable BLACTEA the highest mean SMNLAAS was in those schools with part-time black teachers (Table 22). Schools with no black teachers had the next highest mean SMNLAAS, and schools with at least one full-time black teacher had the lowest mean SMNLAAS. The correlation between BLACTEA and SMNLAAS was $-.058$ (Table 18). This would indicate that if the variable BLACTEA is considered as a continuum from no black teachers to part-time black teachers to full-time black teachers; as one moved towards full-time black teachers, mean LAAS score for schools would decrease. The correlation was not significant, however, at the .05 or lower confidence level. The one way analysis of variance performed on BLACTEA also indicated no statistically significant differences between the mean scores for the different values of the variable.

The fact that schools with part-time black teachers had the highest SMNLAAS, whereas schools with full-time black teachers scored lower than schools with no black teachers at all, may be related to the usual role of full- and part-time black teachers in most independent schools. When a school hires part-time black teachers, most often it does so to have a person work and counsel specifically with black students. In most cases, the person does not teach, but rather serves as advisor to black students. The full-time teacher, however, is usually only able to devote his free time beyond the regular commitments

of an independent school teacher, to black students. The part-time teacher, because of his peripheral connection with the school, may also have the advantage over the full-time black teacher of being able to more consistently side with black students in confrontations with school administration. Only if there were several full-time black teachers in a school would the totality of their free time which could be devoted to black students equal the work usually done by a single part-time teacher working exclusively with black students. Since none of the twelve schools in the study with full-time black teachers employed more than two such faculty members, it can be hypothesized that the possible effects of full-time black teachers on black students' perceptions of their school environments could not be measured here.

For the variable BLACCOM (Table 23), the highest mean SMNLAAS was for the eight schools which were located in towns which had black communities. The next highest score, however, was for those schools located more than 25 miles from a black community. The correlation between BLACCOM and SMNLAAS was .017, which would indicate that the farther removed a school is from a black community, the higher the SMNLAAS. This correlation, however, as well as the results of the one way analysis of variance, was not significant at the .05 level of confidence.

Several interpretations can be given to the pattern of mean SMNLAAS for the variable BLACCOM. The fact that schools located in towns with black communities had relatively high SMNLAAS scores would be expected, given some of the statements presented in the review of

literature and related research in Chapter II. It would not be suspected, however, that those schools farthest removed from black communities would be perceived more positively by black students than schools located closer to black communities. It is possible that schools which are isolated from black communities, recognizing this fact, have begun to make greater efforts to bring black adults on campus or have provided opportunities for their black students to leave campus more often. These are only suppositions, however, and cannot be confirmed by the data in the present study. Further research is indeed indicated here.

The accumulated evidence with respect to BLACTEA and BLACCOM is not sufficient to support the rejection of the null hypothesis and suggests that for the population of this study, the presence of black adults in or near an independent school does not significantly affect black student perception of the school environment as measured by the LAAS.

Hypothesis #12: there will be no relationships between degree of structure within schools (STRCTUR) and school mean LAAS score (SMNLAAS)

The mean SMNLAAS scores for the values of the variable STRCTUR are presented in Table 24.

The highest mean SMNLAAS was obtained by those schools classified as low in structure with respect to the amount of control they tried to exert on the daily lives of their students. The lowest mean SMNLAAS was for those schools classified as high in structure. The correlation between STRCTUR and SMNLAAS was $-.233$ (Table 18), which is statistically significant at the .05 level of confidence. This

TABLE 24
SMNLAAS SCORE BY STRCTUR

	Value	Number	Mean SMNLAAS	Standard Deviation
Low	01	10	102.100	13.718
Medium	02	13	98.939	7.219
High	03	11	97.709	9.707
Total		34	99.471	9.707

would suggest that as degree of structure in a school increases, black student perception of the school environment decreases.

The one way analysis of variance on STRCTUR did not show any of the mean scores for the three degrees of structure as differing significantly from one another. The strong negative correlation, however, is sufficient evidence to support the rejection of the null hypothesis and to suggest that there is a negative relationship between degree of structure in independent schools and the way in which black students perceive the school environment as measured by the LAAS.

Some tentative reasons to explain the existence of a negative correlation between degree of structure in independent schools and black student perceptions of the school environments may be revealed through an examination of some of the characteristics of the more structured schools. In the highly structured schools, much of the emphasis is on social conformity. These schools would most likely

have specific dress codes, compulsory extra-curricular meetings and assemblies, and would probably not be inclined to allow students to leave the school campus nor to engage in activities in the world outside the school. Black students might perceive some of these practices as an attempt to "whitewash" them, and would consequently perceive the schools negatively. Also, those black students from urban environments may have had a great deal of personal freedom before coming to independent schools. As a result they might find it difficult to adjust to some of the restraints imposed by the highly structured schools.

Another explanation of this correlation between STRCTUR and SMNLAAS might be simply that all adolescents resent the type of structuring of their personal lives and the constraints imposed by the highly structured schools. If this is so, then whites in these schools would also perceive the environments negatively.

In his study of the ABC program (page 69 above), Perry found that black students in highly structured schools made greater standardized test score improvement than blacks in less structured schools. Since test score progress was one of the goals of the ABC program, Perry suggested that schools might be doing a disservice to the type of students in the ABC program when they became less structured. If one accepts the test score performance goal of the ABC program as a valid one for black students, then the finding of the present study with respect to structure raises the question as to how much or how little structure will boost academic progress and at the same time not turn students off to the school environment. To answer this question more research is needed on the relationships between achievement, school structure, and attitudes about school environments.

C H A P T E R V

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS, RECOMMENDATIONS, AND SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

This final chapter includes a summary of the findings of the study, along with a presentation of the related conclusions and their implications for independent schools. Also included are recommendations to schools and suggested areas of further research for those institutions and individuals interested in making the independent school experience a more positive one for black students.

Summary

This study sought to examine some of the aspects of the experiences of black students in secondary independent schools belonging to the National Association of Independent Schools. For financial and time considerations, the investigation was limited to independent schools located in the six New England states.

In Chapter I a brief overview of the history of black students in independent schools was presented, with the emphasis placed on the period since 1960, as it was only after this point in their histories that most independent schools began to seriously concern themselves with the education of blacks as well as whites. Some of the factors which prompted the schools to move towards integration were discussed as well as the major changes undergone both by the schools and black students since the start of the desegregation process.

Chapter II of the paper was concerned with a review of related research and the literature in the area of black students and independent

schools. This review included a detailed discussion of three major studies conducted by professional white educational researchers and concluded with a summary of the published statements of black students and adults describing their personal experiences within independent schools. The tone of many of these personal statements was one that depicted the integration of independent schools as being a very painful process for the black students involved. Some of the more disenchanted of the black spokesmen even raised the question as to whether blacks should continue to attend these schools, since for these critics the negative aspects of the experience surpassed any positive benefits.

In Chapter III the specific research methodology of the study was explained. Since with the exception of the ABC study of its black participants, there had been very little previous systematic research on the attitudes of black students towards their independent schools, the major purpose of the present study was an attempt to measure and describe these attitudes so that schools and interested individuals would have more concrete information available as a resource in planning for the future of independent school integration.

The instrument chosen to measure student perceptions of their independent schools was the Learning Atmosphere Attitude Scale. Scores on the scale were used for two purposes: (1) to ascertain the general nature of black student perceptions of their independent schools, and (2) to investigate whether certain school and/or student characteristics significantly affected the nature of black student perceptions of independent school environments.

The results of the study were presented in Chapter IV. Based on their total scores on the LAAS, it was found that black students in general were rather positive in their perceptions of independent schools. The mean LAAS score of black students across schools exceeded the norms established in pilot studies with the scale conducted by its authors.

An examination of their scores on the different sub-scales of the LAAS showed that the majority of black students in the study perceived most positively the physical facilities and curricula of their independent schools. They also perceived their teachers positively in all but the two following areas: they indicated that most of their teachers were neither able to work with both fast and slow students, nor were they able to understand and relate to other than the academic needs of students. Black student perceptions of their schools' administrations were generally mixed. In responding to those items of the LAAS concerned with self-perception, black students expressed a high degree of self-esteem and also a certain positive satisfaction with respect to their place in their schools. Only 30 percent of the students indicated that they would choose to attend another school if given the choice.

The area of the LAAS which solicited the most negative responses were those items referring to school extra-curricular activities. The nature of the black student responses in this area indicated that few of their schools' organized extra-curricular activities were of great interest to them.

The LAAS was next analyzed to determine whether any relationships

existed between scores obtained by black students on the scale and selected student and school characteristics. The purpose of this analysis was twofold: (1) to determine if certain groups of black students responded more positively than others to independent schools, and (2) to determine whether certain types of schools were perceived more positively than other schools by black students.

The following school and student characteristics were tested for possible relationships between them and student perceptions of the school environments as measured by scores on the LAAS:

Sex of student and score on the LAAS

Although the mean score of black females on the LAAS was slightly higher than the mean score for black males, the correlation between sex and LAAS score was not statistically significant. The null hypothesis of no relationship was not rejected; and in the sample schools, sex of students did not seem to be a major factor affecting student perceptions of the school environments as measured by score on the LAAS.

Length of time spent in a particular school and score on the LAAS

The highest mean LAAS score was obtained by the group of students completing their first year in their present independent schools. The negative correlation between year in school and LAAS score indicated that student perceptions of their school environments seemed to become less positive as they spent more time in a particular school. This correlation was not, however, statistically significant at the preestablished .05 level of confidence for rejection of the null hypothesis of the study. Therefore, the null hypothesis was not

rejected; and for students participating in this study, length of time spent in a particular independent school was not a major factor affecting perceptions of the school environments.

Grade average and score on the LAAS

The highest mean LAAS score was obtained by students with grade averages in the "A" range. As student grade averages decreased, their perceptions of their school environments as measured by scores on the LAAS tended to become more negative. Since the correlation between grade average and LAAS score was statistically highly significant, the null hypothesis of no relationship was rejected; and for the students in this study, academic success seemed to be a major factor affecting perceptions of the school environments.

Home community and score on the LAAS

A comparison of mean scores of students from different geographical locations found that black students whose home communities were located outside the United States and West Indies scored significantly higher on the LAAS than students from the Southwest United States. No other geographical locations, however, obtained statistically significant differences in mean LAAS scores.

The classification of a student's home community as urban, rural, or suburban was also not statistically significantly correlated with LAAS score, although the group of students from suburban communities did have a higher mean LAAS score than students from urban or rural communities.

Based on the totality of the evidence on location and type of

home community, it was not possible to reject the null hypothesis of no relationship between these variables and LAAS score. For the students in this study, location and type of home community were not major factors affecting perception of school environment as measured by score on the LAAS.

Racial composition of previous school and score on the LAAS

There was a positive, statistically significant correlation between the racial composition of a student's school before attending his present independent school and LAAS score. This correlation indicated that the greater the amount of school contact black students had previously had with white students before attending independent schools, the more positive their perceptions of their independent school environments. Thus the null hypothesis of no relationship was rejected.

Financial aid and score on the LAAS

Students who received no financial aid and those who received almost full aid scored lower on the LAAS than those students who received small and moderate amounts of financial aid. Overall, there was a negative correlation between amount of financial aid received and LAAS score, indicating a tendency for LAAS score to decrease as financial aid received increased. Both the differences in mean LAAS scores for different categories of financial aid as well as the negative correlation were not, however, statistically significant. Thus the null hypothesis of no relationship was not rejected; and for black students in this study, amount of financial aid received was not a major contributor to perception of the school environment as measured

by score on the LAAS.

ABC program affiliation and score on the LAAS

Although black student participants in the ABC program obtained a lower mean score on the LAAS than students not in the program, the difference in mean scores was not statistically significant. Therefore, the null hypothesis of no relationship was not rejected; and for the students in this study, affiliation or non-affiliation with the ABC program was not a major contributor to perception of the independent school environment.

Type of school and LAAS score

The mean school LAAS score was higher for day than for boarding schools. The highest mean school LAAS score was obtained by the group of coeducational boarding schools; the lowest mean score was obtained by the girls' boarding schools. The data indicated a tendency for coeducation to be a more important factor in positive perception of the boarding schools than for the day schools. None of the differences between the mean scores for different types of schools were statistically significant, however, and type of independent school did not seem to be a major factor affecting black student perceptions of the school environments. The null hypothesis of no relationship was not rejected.

Size (student enrollment) of school and LAAS score

There was a positive, statistically significant correlation between school size and school mean LAAS score. This indicated that

for the schools in this study, which had enrollments of from less than 100 to 1,200, as enrollment increased so too did mean school LAAS score. The schools with an enrollment of less than 200 had statistically significantly lower mean LAAS scores than schools with enrollments of from 200 to 400. Based on this accumulated evidence, the null hypothesis of no relationship was rejected; and for schools in this study, size of student body did seem to be a major factor affecting black student perceptions of the school environments.

Black enrollment percentages and LAAS score

The analysis of school mean LAAS score according to the percentage of black students enrolled in a school was inconclusive. The two groups of schools with the highest mean LAAS scores were those with black enrollments of from 2 to 3.9 percent and from 8 to 10 percent. The lowest mean LAAS scores were obtained, however, in those schools with less than 2 percent black enrollment and those with more than 10 percent black enrollment. The correlation between black enrollment percentages and school mean LAAS score was negative, which would indicate a tendency for school mean LAAS score to decrease as black enrollment percentages increased. Neither the correlation nor the analysis of differences in group means were statistically significant, however, and the null hypothesis of no relationship was not rejected. Based on the schools in this study, black enrollment percentages did not seem to be a major contributor affecting black student perception of the school environments.

Presence of black adults in or near a school and LAAS score

Since none of the schools in the study employed more than two full-time black teachers, it was perhaps meaningless to attempt to measure the possible effects of black teachers on student perceptions of independent schools. Nevertheless, for the schools in the study, there was no statistically significant difference in mean LAAS score for schools with none and schools with one or two full-time black teachers. Schools with part-time black teachers did have higher mean LAAS scores than either schools with no black teachers or schools with full-time black teachers. This difference was not, however, statistically significant.

Schools located in towns with black communities had higher, but not statistically significantly so, mean LAAS scores than schools farther removed from black communities; however, the computed correlation between distance from black community and school mean LAAS score was positive, indicating a tendency for school LAAS score to increase as schools were farther removed from black communities. This correlation was not statistically significant at the .05 level of confidence.

The accumulated evidence on the few black teachers employed by the schools and the proximity of schools to black communities did not show that either of these variables was a major contributor to perception of independent school environments by black students in the study. Therefore, the null hypothesis of no relationship was not rejected.

Degree of structure in schools and LAAS score

There was a statistically significant negative correlation

between degree of structure in schools and school mean LAAS score.

This indicated that as schools became more structured in their attempts to exert control over the daily lives of their students, black student perceptions of the schools as measured by scores on the LAAS became more negative. Based on the significance of this correlation, the null hypothesis of no relationship was rejected.

Variables affecting black perceptions of independent school environments

In summary, in this study seven student characteristics were examined for possible relationships between them and black student perceptions of independent school environments. Of the seven, evidence was found to support the existence of two such relationships: (1) academic success of students as measured by grade averages and perceptions of school environments, and (2) the racial composition of black students' previous schools and perceptions of their present independent school environments.

Five school characteristics were examined for possible relationships between them and black student perceptions of the school environments. Evidence was found to support two such relationships: (1) size of school as measured by total student enrollment and perception of the school environment, and (2) degree of structure as measured by the amount of control schools attempted to exert over the daily lives of students and black perceptions of the school environments.

Conclusions and Implications

Black perceptions of the total independent school environment

Based on the data gathered in this study, it is possible to conclude that black students in general perceive their independent schools more positively than might have been expected, given the negative tone of some of the articles written by blacks in the schools and summarized in Chapter II of this paper. The mean score of black students on the LAAS was higher than the norms established for the scale by its authors. Interpreting the data conservatively, this would indicate that black students do not perceive their independent schools more negatively than a "normal," predominantly white group of students perceive their public schools. Interpreting more liberally, it would indicate that the black respondents in this study were more positive about their schools than the "normal" group was about their public schools.

These relatively positive perceptions of independent schools may be an indication that those black students whose comments were reviewed in Chapter II were not representative of the majority of black students in independent schools. More likely, however, this positive attitude may be indicative of changes that have occurred in the schools during the past few years. In response both to the criticism of their outspoken black students as well as to changes in the nation at large, many independent schools have had to rethink some of their initial assumptions about black students and integration and have begun to make their institutions places in which blacks can at least feel

comfortable, if not totally at ease. The majority of independent schools are quite different places today than they were even as recently as five years ago. In many schools there has been a general relaxation of those traditional practices and policies, which prior to the late sixties made it extremely difficult for students from other than "waspish" backgrounds to adjust to the schools.

The net result of these policy changes has been an opening of independent schools to a greater diversity of people and ideas. With respect to black students, this has increasingly made it more possible for them to function in the schools without giving up their racial and cultural heritage. Some of the more significant changes affecting the lives of blacks in the schools have included the widespread acceptance by school administrations of the Afro-American societies established by blacks as a supportive base from which they could better cope with, and also educate, the school community in the black experience; the expansion of independent school curricula to include courses specifically dealing with the experience of blacks in America and curricular revisions in other areas to include a minority perspective; a deemphasis in many of the schools of a social program geared towards the development and maintenance of an elitist, aristocratic society within the larger American society; and finally, greater cooperation between independent schools themselves and an opening to the world beyond the confines of the school campuses, which has enabled black students to feel that attendance at independent schools does not automatically and irrevocably cut them off from their peers at other schools and family and friends in their home communities.

Academic programs in the independent schools

In addition to the conclusions that were reached concerning the overall nature of black perceptions of their independent schools, this investigation lent itself to conclusions about specific aspects of the independent school experience as perceived by blacks.

The high correlation between grade average and score on the LAAS suggests the conclusion that the academic programs of the independent schools are of major importance to black students. If blacks feel that their independent schools are providing them with a sound academic preparation, then they can temporarily put up with some of the inconveniences they perceive in other areas of their schools. Those students in the study who were having academic success as measured by grade averages perceived their schools more positively than students having less success academically. This should not necessarily be interpreted to mean that for schools to have contented black students, they need only distribute "good" grades to all of them. Rather, it is the conclusion of this investigator that more important than the actual grades received, is the perception of the student that the school is helping him develop his full academic potential. If a student can be made to feel successful, regardless of whether grades received are "C" or "A", then he will probably respond positively to the school environment.

The implication of this conclusion for independent schools is that they need to devote more attention to the average or slow students in their student bodies. They need to create programs which will allow students not at the top of their classes to achieve a degree of success.

Since most of the schools have been accustomed to working with bright students, who most likely would succeed academically regardless of where they attended school, learning to work with students not so gifted will be a difficult task. As black students pointed out in responding to one of the items of the LAAS, few of their independent school teachers were perceived as being able to work with both fast and slow students. Accepting the challenge to work with all levels of student intelligence is a goal this investigator feels is worthwhile for the independent schools to undertake. For if the schools are, as they often claim to be, leaders in the field of education, they should learn to use some of their resources and talents to work not only with racially and socially diverse students, but intellectually diverse students as well. Until they have committed themselves to this goal and have employed and trained faculty members to work both with fast and slow students, it seems the schools do a disservice to those average or low ability students they accept, merely because in a financial pinch they need to fill spaces, and then have these students thrown into classes where teachers still feel that independent schools should be reserved for students preparing for the "ivy league."

Extra-curricular activities

The one area of their independent schools which black students perceived almost consistently negatively in responding to items on the LAAS was the extra-curricular program of their schools. If the schools feel (as most of them say they do) that out of class activities are an integral and important part of their total program, they should then

attempt to determine why the activities they currently offer seem to have so little appeal for black students (and perhaps for white students as well). This should be a particularly urgent concern of the boarding schools, since so many of the students who attend them have no activities outside the school during the academic year.

Intergroup relations within the schools

A statistically significant relationship found in the study was the positive one between black students' previous school contact with whites and their perceptions of their independent schools. This would seem to indicate that black students with little previous school contact with whites find it difficult to move into the world of the predominantly white independent school. When these students come to independent schools for the first time, they may experience a great deal of culture shock. Without the help, guidance, and understanding of their schools, these students may not be able to move beyond their state of "shock" to take advantage of the opportunities the schools have to offer.

The implications of this finding for the schools should not be that they only accept black students who have had previous school contact with whites, since because of the segregated nature of American public schools, this would eliminate as candidates for admission the majority of black children in the country. Rather, the schools, realizing that blacks might find it difficult to move into a predominantly white world, should include as a regular and specific part of their programs experiences to help ease the transition. This would

be helpful not only to blacks but also to many white students, who in all probability have not attended schools with blacks before coming to independent school. The development of understanding and respect between the races in a school should not be something that is left to chance; rather, it should be a clearly stated objective of the school experience. It does service to no one to have in a school a diverse community, if the different groups do not even communicate with one another. The diversity in a school should be used as an educational resource in preparing students to live in a multi-racial and multi-cultural world. The fact that a majority of black students in responding to one of the items of the LAAS answered that students in their schools did not treat each other with respect may indicate that most independent schools are not concerning themselves with intergroup and interpersonal relations.

Student characteristics not correlated with perceptions of school environment

With the exception of grade average and racial composition of previous school, none of the selected student independent variables examined in the study were significantly correlated with perception of the school environment as measured by LAAS score. Variables for which no relationships were suggested with LAAS score were: amount of financial aid received by a student, type and location of student home community, number of years spent in a particular school, sex of student, and affiliation with the ABC program. These findings suggest the conclusion that differences in black students along these variables will neither promote nor hinder their positive reactions to independent

schools. The implications of this conclusion for the schools is that they can create a successful and positive experience for an economically, socially, and geographically diverse population of black students. This means that independent schools cannot, for example, try to stack the cards in their favor in their relationships with black students by limiting black enrollment to students from a particular area of the country, or from a specific social background, or by concentrating on a one or two year experience for blacks rather than enrolling them for three or four years.

Some schools have attempted to control the mood of their black students by enrolling, for example, only a limited number of ABC students. Their reasons for doing this is that they feel ABC students in general are less positive and more inclined to create "waves" than other black students, or from a belief that they can find on their own more positive and more highly motivated students than the ABC program recruits. A few other schools, because of some irrational fear, have tended to ignore black students practically on their doorsteps in local and neighboring communities and have sought out black students hundreds of miles from their campuses. The findings of the study appear to indicate that none of these biases for admitting black students will significantly affect black perceptions of a school's environment.

Length of time spent in a school. Although the variable YRSNSCH (years in a school) did not correlate significantly with LAAS score, there was an indication that the longer a student had been in a school, the less positive his perception of the school environment. This could mean that schools through their programs train their students to become

more critical and therefore the longer they remain in residence the more disenchanted they become with the environment. It could also mean that there is basically something wrong with the last one or two years of the independent school experience. If the second explanation is accepted, then schools should reexamine their programs for juniors and seniors with the purpose in mind of making the last years in a school as exciting and as rewarding as possible. Some changes that might be indicated would be special privileges and responsibilities for older students, more opportunities for independent work and off-campus projects, and more programs to help in the transition from secondary school to college or work. Now, however, most schools have basically the same policies for seniors as for freshmen. In a very practical sense, since the long range impressions students will retain of their schools are their most recent contacts with the institutions, schools need to make the last years students spend in them as positive as possible, especially if there is a desire to create a strong and active alumni group that will encourage other students (and specifically black students) to attend independent schools.

School characteristics and student perceptions of the school environments

When mean scores on the LAAS of black students within each school were compared to selected characteristics of the schools, there were statistically significant correlations for the variables measuring degree of structure in schools and size of schools as measured by total student enrollment. There were no statistically significant relationships found for the variables of type of school, percentage of black

enrollment in schools, presence of black teachers, and proximity of schools to black communities.

Type of school. The implications for schools of the suggested lack of relationship between type of school and student perception of the school environment is important because it indicates that it is possible for black students to have positive experiences in all the types of independent schools examined in this study: boarding as well as day, coeducational as well as single sex schools. The argument put forth by some that black students will not react positively to boarding schools because these institutions uproot them from their home communities was not supported by the findings of this study. Likewise, there was no evidence found here to support the contention of some that boarding school environments will be perceived more positively by blacks than day schools for the specific reason that the former, unlike the latter, remove black students from the distractions of their home communities.

Size of schools. The strong suggestion that size of school and degree of structure in schools do correlate with perceptions of the school environments should not imply that black students cannot have a positive experience in highly structured or in very small schools. Rather, the implications of these findings for the schools are that they should attempt to examine what in their structure or size contributes to negative perceptions by black students. Some of the probable causes for these relationships have already been discussed in detail. It is very probable that in the small independent schools, there is more pressure to conform to certain norms which may be

perceived by blacks as an attempt to rob them of their racial and cultural identity. Also, the small schools probably offer less opportunities than the larger ones for a variety of learning experiences, which would limit the number and type of courses specifically dealing with Afro-American studies. If this is the case, then the small schools, without increasing their size, can make conscious efforts to preserve and respect the individuality of students; use greater care in deciding on the limited number of courses they are financially able to offer; and provide for more contacts for students with the world outside the school.

Degree of structure in schools. The negative black perceptions of the highly structured schools may be caused by some of the same attributes of these schools as seen in the small schools, specifically, the attempt to use structure to mold students into preconceived stereotypes which do not allow for group and individual differences. These schools, without lessening structure and becoming for them what must be considered chaotic, could reevaluate their structure with two purposes in mind: (1) to insure that it is neither arbitrary nor capricious and detrimental to individual development and (2) to determine exactly what are the goals hoped to be achieved by the structuring of student lives. It is possible for schools to maintain a highly structured academic program, for example, and at the same time respect the individuality of students in the social areas of school life.

Percentage of black enrollment. For the students and schools in this study, there were no statistically significant correlations between percentage of black students enrolled, presence of black

teachers, or proximity to a black community and black perception of the school environments as measured by scores on the LAAS. These findings may indicate either that these relationships do not exist in reality or that the data in the study was not sufficient to support meaningful conclusions. When the variable of black enrollment percentages is considered, the second of these two explanations of the findings seems most plausible. Because so few of the thirty-six schools in the study had black enrollment numbering 10 or more percent, it was not possible for the study to definitively measure the effects of increased numbers of black students in a school on black perceptions of the school environment. Because of the size of the schools in the study, increasing black enrollment by one percent (especially if the total percentage is not at least 10 percent) only involves bringing into a school community two or three more black students, and perhaps this small increase does not essentially change the nature of the school for black students. More schools should make concerted efforts to considerably increase their black enrollment in order that the effects of a realistically integrated environment (one in which the percentage of blacks is at least equal to their proportion in the larger society) on both black and white students can be analyzed.

The suggested lack of relationship between black enrollment percentages and perception of the school environment may also indicate that schools which find it absolutely impossible to increase their black enrollment need not abandon their efforts to work with a small group of black students. Although more difficult, it still may be possible to create positive experiences for a few black students if

schools plan programs that will allow these few to grow as individuals and as black Americans.

Proximity to black communities. The suggested lack of relationship between proximity of a school to a black community and black student perceptions of the school environment has an important implication for independent schools. Schools which are far removed from black communities should continue to work with black students since it is possible for students to have a positive experience in these isolated schools. To create this positive environment, however, it will probably be very important for the schools to hire black teachers, provide opportunities to bring elements of the black community onto campuses, and set up programs by which the schools can become actively involved in projects with the nearest black community. Based on the findings of this study, it would be another form of racism for schools to use their physical distance from a black community and their purported lack of desire to uproot black students from their homes and communities as an excuse to not become involved in the education of blacks.

Black teachers. There was no significant correlation found between the presence of black teachers in schools and the perceptions of the school environments by black students. Since none of the schools in the study, however, employed more than two full-time black teachers, it is impossible with the data at hand to reach conclusions about the probable effects black teachers might have on independent schools. Since the majority of black students in the study in responding to an item of the LAAS indicated that their independent school

teachers did not "really know" them, it is interesting to speculate how these responses might have been different had there been more black teachers employed in the schools.

Recommendations

The findings of this study have indicated that in general black students presently perceive their independent schools positively. If the positive perceptions of the students in the sample are indicative of black student perceptions of independent schools nationwide, then the independent schools are passing through a period of calm which contrasts strikingly with the confrontative mood seen in many of the schools in the late sixties. It is the conclusion of this investigator that it would be most unfortunate if the schools were to interpret this lull in black activism as either a sign that blacks are no longer interested in the issues raised in the sixties, or that the schools have successfully and definitively "integrated."

Indeed some independent schools have, in actions if not in words, fallen prey to these faulty interpretations and have begun to become complacent where blacks are concerned. In the past few years black enrollment, which was never very high, has been allowed to decline in some schools; in others, black studies courses have quietly been phased out of the curriculum; budgets for Afro-American societies in some cases have been cut; and there is an increasing tendency in dealing with students to return to former practices which often sacrificed the individual in favor of the rigid standards of the community.

Rather than take the lull in protest and the present general

positive attitude towards the schools of black students as an opportunity to backslide, the schools should capitalize on these good feelings. They should use them to explore with their students, free from an atmosphere of confrontation, ways in which the schools could become more pluralistic. Working cooperatively with their black students, and black faculty if there are any, the schools could make long range plans to increase minority student enrollment and could formulate creative approaches for attracting and keeping more minority faculty and administrators. If black students are positive about their schools and their experiences in them, there could be no better salespersons than these students to "sell" the schools to other families in the black community. As more and more black parents are becoming disenchanted with the public schools and are seeking alternatives for the education of their children, there is no better time than now for the independent schools to attract an interested and enthusiastic black clientele. If the independent schools fail to seize this opportunity, and once again become insouciant of the needs and concerns of their black students, another period of conflict could arise, from which the schools might not then be able to extricate themselves.

Suggestions for Further Research

Since one of the assumptions of this study was that blacks and whites differ in their perceptions of independent schools, research is needed to determine to what extent this assumption is accurate. Other researchers interested in independent schools could use the LAAS to measure white student perceptions of the school climates and

then compare their findings with those of the present study. Interesting questions to be answered from such a study would deal with those areas in which black and white perceptions of independent schools differ and those areas in which their perceptions converge. Another related topic for research would be the effects on the attitudes of white independent school students and teachers of being in schools in which the ratio of blacks (students and teachers) is at least equal to their corresponding proportions in the nation at large.

Other areas of the independent schools' attempts to diversify that need to be studied are the roles black adults play in these schools and in what ways do their perceptions of the school environments differ from those of black students. This research cannot be undertaken, however, until more schools actually begin to employ black staff members.

Blacks are not the only minority group presently in independent schools. There are increasing numbers of Spanish speaking and Native American students being enrolled in these schools. There is a need for the schools to analyze their success or failure with members of these groups. In completing the present study, the investigator was struck by the comments of a group of Spanish speaking students in one of the sample schools. They complained that no one seemed to pay any special attention to their problems and concerns. Although they had strong ties with the black students in their schools, they nevertheless felt that they had certain unique problems and concerns which were receiving very little attention from their schools.

The variables of the study that were compared to perception of

school environment were those chosen by the investigator as important based on his review of the literature and his work in independent schools. They are by no means an exhaustive list and there is a need to examine other variables that may be relevant in a discussion of blacks and independent schools. Some such variables that might be worthy of investigation include the relationships black students in independent schools maintain with their families and friends at home, the interactions among blacks across independent schools, and how black student attitudes and values change as a result of attendance at independent schools. The ABC study explored some of these issues but only for participants in their program.

Finally, this study has shown that student perception of school environment is a useful tool that schools can use in analyzing programs, policies, and future priorities. Since most of the independent schools began their integration efforts with very little input from either black adults or students and as a result made a great deal of unnecessary mistakes, it would be important for the schools in looking towards the future to continually seek advice and counsel from black adults and students to insure that their policies will be of the greatest possible benefit to all concerned.

In their self-evaluations and planning for the future, schools should examine how they are preparing their students to live in a multi-racial and multi-cultural world. How do students from different backgrounds relate to one another in school? Which prejudices continue to be held? How do schools as institutions continue to act in racist manners? These kinds of questions should constantly be used in

evaluating a school's movement towards a pluralistic environment.

In this study, the Learning Atmosphere Attitude Scale was used to measure student perceptions of the school environment and the results of the study provided further information on the validity of this instrument. However, because independent schools are in many ways different from public schools, it might be appropriate for independent schools to cooperatively devise special instruments which could be used in their continual process of self-evaluation. For the schools, an integral part of any such instrument should be sections devoted to student perceptions of the racial climate in their schools.

APPENDIX A

STUDENT QUESTIONNAIRE INCLUDING
LEARNING ATMOSPHERE ATTITUDE SCALE (FORM A)

May 1973

Dear Sisters and Brothers:

Let me briefly introduce myself and explain what this is all about. I am a black graduate student at the University of Massachusetts School of Education where I am writing a dissertation on the experience of black students in independent day and boarding schools. For the past four years I have been involved in independent schools: from 1969-1971 I was advisor to black students at the Loomis Chaffee School; in 1971-1972 I was advisor to black students at Deerfield Academy; and this year I am on the staff of the Northfield Mount Hermon School.

In my doctoral dissertation I am attempting to evaluate the experience of black students in independent schools with the following two purposes in mind:

1. I would like to find out what aspects of their independent school experience black students find most useful and rewarding.
2. What aspects of independent schools might be changed to make their programs more positive for black students.

To accomplish this task I need your help. I am asking approximately 600 brothers and sisters in 50 independent schools to complete the following questionnaire. The head of your school has given me permission to have you complete the questionnaire. You should feel free to answer the questions as truthfully as possible as your RESPONSES WILL BE KEPT STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL. I am not asking for your name and after completing the questionnaire you will seal it in an envelope which will be forwarded to me and not opened by anyone at your school. In this way no one at your school will know how you responded to the questions.

In completing the questionnaire there are, of course, no right or wrong answers; and there is no time limit. It is important, however, that your answers indicate how you feel and not how your friends might feel. Therefore, I request that you DO THE QUESTIONNAIRE ALONE.

I thank you very much for taking your valuable time to help me in this way.

Cary E. Bell

For the purposes of research it is very important to account for every questionnaire; and I must know the reasons why a student would not want to complete the questionnaire. Therefore, IF FOR ANY REASON YOU DO NOT

WANT TO COMPLETE THIS QUESTIONNAIRE, WOULD YOU PLEASE BRIEFLY EXPLAIN WHY IN THE SPACE BELOW, SEAL THE QUESTIONNAIRE IN THE ENVELOPE ATTACHED TO THE LAST PAGE, AND RETURN IT TO THE PERSON WHO IS COLLECTING THE QUESTIONNAIRES.

CIRCLE ONLY ONE NUMBER NEXT TO THE RESPONSE WHICH COMES CLOSEST TO YOUR OPINION OR SITUATION.

Example: (1.) Yes

2. No

____ 1. What is your sex?

1. Male

2. Female

____ 2. What is your present age?

1. under 14

5. 17

2. 14

6. 18

3. 15

7. 19

4. 16

8. over 19

____ 3. What is your present grade?

1. 9th

4. 12th

2. 10th

5. post graduate

3. 11th

____ 4. How many years have you spent in your present school?

1. This is my first year.

4. This is my fourth year.

2. This is my second year.

5. This is my fifth year.

3. This is my third year.

6. I have spent more than five years in my present school.

____ 5. Are you a boarding student?

1. Yes

2. No

____ 6. What is your grade average this year? (If your school does not give letter or numerical grades, try to estimate where you would stand on one of these scales.)

1. Mostly A's (mostly 90's)

2. Mostly A's and B's (mostly 90's and 80's)

3. Mostly B's (mostly 80's)

4. Mostly B's and C's (mostly 80's and 70's)

5. Mostly C's (mostly 70's)

6. Mostly C's and D's (mostly 70's and 60's)

7. Mostly D's (mostly 60's)

8. Mostly D's and F's (mostly 60's and 50's)

- ____ 7. In which region of the United States is your home town located?
- | | |
|------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1. In the Northeast. | 5. In the West. |
| 2. In the Southeast. | 6. I live in the West Indies. |
| 3. In the Middle West. | 7. I live neither in the United |
| 4. In the Southwest. | States nor in the West Indies. |
- ____ 8. Are you a citizen of the United States?
- | | |
|--------|-------|
| 1. Yes | 2. No |
|--------|-------|
- ____ 9. How would you describe your home community?
- | | | |
|----------|----------|-------------|
| 1. Urban | 2. Rural | 3. Suburban |
|----------|----------|-------------|
- ____ 10. What was the racial composition of the school you attended BEFORE attending your present school?
- | | |
|-------------------------------------|--|
| 1. All or nearly all black. | 4. Majority white. |
| 2. Majority black. | 5. Nearly all white. |
| 3. About half black and half white. | 6. I have never attended another school. |
- ____ 11. Are you receiving financial aid to attend your present school?
- | | |
|--------|-------|
| 1. Yes | 2. No |
|--------|-------|
- ____ 12. If you do receive financial aid, approximately what percent of the total cost of your schooling is covered by this aid?
- | | |
|-----------|------------|
| 1. 1-25% | 3. 51-75% |
| 2. 26-50% | 4. 76-100% |
- ____ 13. Are you a participant in the ABC (A Better Chance) Program?
- | | |
|--------|-------|
| 1. Yes | 2. No |
|--------|-------|

The second half of this questionnaire (questions 14-43) are statements that a person such as yourself might make about his or her school or education. You are asked to read each statement carefully and then indicate whether you agree or disagree or are undecided by circling the appropriate number. This is not a test and there are no right or wrong answers. Please feel free to answer exactly how you feel about your school and not how you think other people (parents, teachers, students, etc.) might want you to feel.

Example: IF YOU STRONGLY AGREE WITH THE STATEMENT, YOU WOULD CIRCLE
NUMBER (1.)

IF YOU AGREE WITH THE STATEMENT, YOU WOULD CIRCLE NUMBER (2.)

IF YOU ARE UNDECIDED ABOUT THE STATEMENT, YOU WOULD CIRCLE
NUMBER (3.)

IF YOU DISAGREE WITH THE STATEMENT YOU WOULD CIRCLE
NUMBER (4.)

IF YOU STRONGLY DISAGREE WITH THE STATEMENT, YOU WOULD
CIRCLE NUMBER (5.)

Try to avoid circling number 3 "Undecided" if possible.

		Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
_____ 14.	I go to school only because I have to.	1	2	3	4	5
_____ 15.	Teachers are usually understanding when a student does something wrong.	1	2	3	4	5
_____ 16.	Only a few teachers in this school seem capable of handling both the fast and slow students.	1	2	3	4	5
_____ 17.	The facilities in this school make it difficult to be a good student.	1	2	3	4	5
_____ 18.	If I had my choice, I would choose to go to another school.	1	2	3	4	5
_____ 19.	My teachers really know me.	1	2	3	4	5
_____ 20.	There are few activities that I care to join in school.	1	2	3	4	5
_____ 21.	There is little opportunity in school to do the things I enjoy doing.	1	2	3	4	5
_____ 22.	I would like to take an active part in school elections.	1	2	3	4	5
_____ 23.	Most of my classes are boring and have no connection with my life today.	1	2	3	4	5
_____ 24.	In this school, students treat each other with respect.	1	2	3	4	5

		Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
_____ 25.	Students don't have enough books and materials available to them in this school	1	2	3	4	5
_____ 26.	A student can take little pride in the appearance of this school.	1	2	3	4	5
_____ 27.	Most of the classrooms in this school seem dull and unexciting.	1	2	3	4	5
_____ 28.	Teachers are considerate of my feelings.	1	2	3	4	5
_____ 29.	My own opinions are just as important as the opinions of other students.	1	2	3	4	5
_____ 30.	Assignments need to be more understandable.	1	2	3	4	5
_____ 31.	I feel that I am doing well in school.	1	2	3	4	5
_____ 32.	Homework assignments are not purposeful.	1	2	3	4	5
_____ 33.	I think that I will earn awards by the time I finish high school.	1	2	3	4	5
_____ 34.	Teachers do too much talking in class.	1	2	3	4	5
_____ 35.	I can express strong personal beliefs in my classes.	1	2	3	4	5
_____ 36.	I can understand the teachers most of the time.	1	2	3	4	5
_____ 37.	Teachers have an "I don't care" attitude when a student needs extra attention.	1	2	3	4	5

		Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
_____ 38.	I like to support the big school events.	1	2	3	4	5
_____ 39.	This school is more concerned with rules and regulations than with what we are learning.	1	2	3	4	5
_____ 40.	My school subjects are related to what I want to do with my life after high school graduation.	1	2	3	4	5
_____ 41.	The textbooks are understandable.	1	2	3	4	5
_____ 42.	A student needs permission to do most things in this school.	1	2	3	4	5
_____ 43.	High school education makes a person a better citizen in the community.	1	2	3	4	5

DETACH THE ENVELOPE WHICH IS ATTACHED TO THE BACK OF THIS PAGE. FOLD YOUR QUESTIONNAIRE AND PLACE IT IN THE ENVELOPE. SEAL THE ENVELOPE AND GIVE IT TO THE PERSON WHO IS COLLECTING THE QUESTIONNAIRES. THANK YOU AGAIN FOR YOUR HELP!

APPENDIX B
SCHOOL QUESTIONNAIRE

SCHOOL QUESTIONNAIRE (Part one)

This questionnaire may be completed by any school staff member who can provide the requested information.

1. Name of school _____
2. School population: Total number of students (upper school) _____
(Upper School only)
 Total number of girls (upper school) _____
 Total number of boys (upper school) _____
 Total number of day students (upper school) _____
 Total number of boarding students (upper school) _____
3. Black students: Total number of black male students (upper school) _____
 Total number of black female students (upper school) _____
 Total number of black boarding students _____
 Total number of black day students _____
4. What percentage of your total student population receives financial aid? _____
5. What percentage of your black student population receives financial aid? _____
6. How many teachers do you employ? Full time _____
 Part time _____
7. How many black teachers do you employ? Full time _____
 Part time _____
8. How close is the nearest black community to your school? (A criterion for black community might be the presence of a black church.)
 1. Within a few blocks.
 2. In the same town.
 3. Less than 10 miles from school.
 4. Between 10 and 25 miles from school.
 5. Between 25 and 50 miles from school.
 6. More than 50 miles from school.

SCHOOL QUESTIONNAIRE (Part two)

The following questions attempt to gather some information on student life at your school. There are of course no right or wrong answers. Obviously, I have not asked all the questions that could be asked, and in many cases perhaps not even what you would consider the really important ones. To save you time I have tried to use a multiple choice format wherever possible. In answering these questions you may circle as many responses as apply to your school. If none of the responses apply, you are encouraged to explain your school's situation in the space provided. Your answers to these questions will remain strictly confidential and will not be used to identify your school by name in the write up of this research project. All questions refer only to upper school students.

1. What is your school policy regarding class attendance?

1. All students are required to attend all classes.
2. Upperclassmen are allowed a specified number of class cuts; underclassmen are required to attend all classes.
3. All students are allowed a specified number of class cuts.
4. Upperclassmen are allowed an unlimited number of class cuts; underclassmen are not allowed cuts.
5. All students are allowed an unlimited number of class cuts.
6. Other (please explain) _____

2. Does your school have required religious chapel services?

1. Yes, for all students.
2. Yes, for underclassmen but not for upperclassmen.
3. No.
4. Other (please explain) _____

3. If the answer to #2 was yes, how often do these services occur?

4. Does your school have required all school meetings or assembly programs?

1. Yes, for all students.
2. Yes, for underclassmen but not for upperclassmen.
3. No.
4. Other (please explain) _____

5. If the answer to #4 was yes, how often do these meetings occur?

6. Are physically able students required to participate in inter-scholastic athletic competition at any time during their stay at your school?

1. Yes, for both girls and boys.
2. Yes, for boys but not for girls.
3. No.
4. Other (please explain) _____

7. Are students required to support school teams by attendance at athletic contests?

1. Yes, for the major games.
2. Yes, for all games.
3. No.
4. Other (please explain) _____

8. Are students required to participate in extra-curricular activities?

1. Yes
2. No
3. Other (please explain) _____

9. Are students required to participate in a school work program?

1. Yes, all students.
2. Yes, scholarship students only.
3. No.
4. Other (please explain) _____

10. If the answer to #9 was yes, how many hours per week does a student work? _____

11. What is your school grading policy?

1. Numerical grades.
2. Letter grades.
3. Pass/Fail system.
4. Teacher comments rather than letter or numerical grades.
5. Other (please explain) _____

12. Does your school have an elective program?

1. Yes, for all students.
2. Yes, for upperclassmen only.
3. No.
4. Other (please explain) _____

13. If the answer to #12 was yes, how many electives per term are usually allowed? _____

14. May students do independent work, on or off campus, in place of regular classes?

1. Yes, all students.
2. Yes, upperclassmen only.
3. No.
4. Other (please explain) _____

15. If the answer to #14 was yes, how often may these projects be undertaken? _____

16. Does your school have a dress code?

1. Yes. Coats and ties for boys. Skirts or dresses for girls.
2. An official school uniform is required.
3. Neatness and cleanliness are the only requirements in dress.
4. Other (please explain) _____

17. Are students allowed to smoke cigarettes on campus?

1. No.
2. Yes, with parental permission.
3. Yes, parental permission is not required.
4. Other (please explain) _____

18. If the answer to #17 was yes, where are students allowed to smoke?

1. Anywhere on campus
2. In designated outside areas only.
3. In designated inside areas only.
4. In designated inside and outside areas.
5. Other (please explain) _____

19. Are students dismissed from school for use of illegal drugs?

1. Always
2. Often
3. Rarely
4. Never
5. Each case is treated individually and there are no standardized penalties.
6. Other (please explain) _____

20. Do students address teachers by their first names?

1. Yes
2. No
3. Other _____

21. Who has the major responsibility for making rules governing student life (dress code, permissions, smoking, etc.)?

1. The trustees
2. The administration
3. The faculty
4. A joint student faculty governing body
5. A student organization
6. Other (please explain) _____

22. Are students required to attend a study hall at any time during the school day?

1. Yes, all students.
2. Yes, underclassmen only.
3. No.
4. Other (please explain) _____

23. May students leave campus in their free time during the school day?

1. Yes, with special permission.
2. Yes, at will.
3. No.
4. Other (please explain) _____

THE REMAINING QUESTIONS REFER TO BOARDING SCHOOLS ONLY

24. Are boys and girls allowed to visit each other in their dormitory rooms?

1. Yes
2. No

25. If the answer to #24 was yes, please explain when and how often visitation is allowed. _____

26. Do you have an evening lights out policy?

1. Yes, for all students.
2. Yes, for underclassmen only.
3. No.
4. Other (please explain) _____

27. How many weekend permissions may a student take per year? _____

28. Are students required to attend meals?

1. Yes, all meals.
2. Yes, evening meals only.
3. Yes, breakfast only.
4. Yes, lunch only.
5. Other (please explain) _____

29. Do you allow students of legal age to consume alcoholic beverages while under school jurisdiction?

1. Yes, in dorm rooms.
2. Yes, in faculty apartments.
3. Yes, in local taverns and restaurants.
4. No.
5. Other (please explain) _____

APPENDIX C

SAMPLE SCHOOL CONTACT LETTER

Box 25
Mount Hermon, Massachusetts 01354
24 April 1973

Mr. _____
Headmaster
_____, Academy
_____, Massachusetts

Dear Mr. _____:

I am presently an NAIS Fellow at the University of Massachusetts School of Education where I am working on a doctorate in educational administration and guidance. I am also on the staff of the Northfield Mount Hermon School as part-time Assistant Dean. For the past three years I have been a member of the NAIS Minority Affairs Committee and have worked very closely with Bill Dandridge. With this brief introduction I would like to ask your help and permission to have your black students complete a questionnaire that will be used as part of the research I am doing for my doctoral dissertation.

The subject of my dissertation covers the general area of the experience of black students in independent schools. Within the last decade, as you are well aware, there has been a significant increase in the numbers of black students attending independent schools. In my informal conversations with many of these students it has become apparent to me that certain aspects of their independent school experience have been more beneficial than others. Also, certain black students have reacted more positively to this experience than others. Through my work on the Minority Affairs Committee I know that many schools are searching for answers and seeking help to make their school experience as positive as possible for their black students. Although there is a great deal of concern on the part of many educators in individual schools, to my knowledge we have not systematically pooled our individual experiences to attempt some generalizations and suggestions that might be useful to independent schools at large. This is briefly what I am attempting to do in my dissertation. Whatever information I obtain and conclusions reached I would certainly want to personally share with you as well as with the total membership of NAIS.

For my study, because of financial and time considerations, I have limited my area of investigation to New England independent schools. From this large group of schools I have narrowed my selection to approximately 45 schools, which hopefully is representative of the diversity found in independent schools. In selecting the group of 45 I have tried to give proportional representation to day and boarding schools, as well as single sex, coordinate and coeducational schools. _____ is one of these 45 schools and I would be very grateful if you think the project merits your participation.

In the 45 schools selected I would like to have all black students complete a 44 item questionnaire, 30 items of which is the Learning Atmosphere Attitude Scale devised by Dr. Ron Frederickson of the University of Massachusetts. In addition, there is a questionnaire to be completed by one administrator from each school which attempts to gather enrollment statistics and information on student life. The questionnaire can be quickly completed by students as most questions follow a multiple choice format. In tabulating the results of the questionnaire and in any future use of data, I assure you that all students and schools will remain completely anonymous.

As I am limited by time and finances it will be impossible for me to personally visit each of the 45 schools as originally planned. Therefore, if you wish to participate in this study I have an extraordinary favor to ask. I am hoping that at each school there would be someone (I think immediately of an advisor to black students if a school has one) who would help me by distributing the questionnaires to black students, collecting them and forwarding them to me in a prestamped envelope that I would send out with the packet of questionnaires. If you do not have a staff member who would be willing to do this, I see no objection to having it done by a responsible black student.

If you are interested in this project, I would appreciate it if you would send me the name of the person who has agreed to distribute the questionnaires and the number of black students at _____ Academy. I could then get in touch with that person directly and forward the questionnaires. I realize that I am not giving you much time but I would like, if at all possible, to have the questionnaires completed during the second or third week of May.

I am enclosing with this letter a rough draft of the student questionnaire for your inspection and a brief personal resume which includes the names of persons who can vouch for my integrity and seriousness of purpose.

I hope that you will pardon the length of this letter but I did want to answer most of the questions you might have. Please do not hesitate to contact me if you are not convinced of the worth or feasibility of this project. I look forward to hearing from you and hope that you will allow _____ to participate in this study.

Thank you very much.

Sincerely yours,

Cary Edward Bell

Enclosures

APPENDIX. D

SUGGESTIONS FOR ADMINISTRATORS OF THE
STUDENT QUESTIONNAIRES

Some Suggestions for Administrators of the Questionnaires

1. In this envelope you will find enough questionnaires for the black students in your school plus a few extras for those students who misplace their first copies. If your school is composed of an elementary or junior high department as well as high school, only high school students (9th through 12th graders and any post-graduates) should complete the questionnaire.
2. The questionnaire consists of five pages. The first page introduces me to the students and explains briefly the purpose of my research.
3. Directions as to how to answer questions 1-13 of the questionnaire are given to the student on page 2. Directions for completing the remainder of the questionnaire (questions 14-43) are found on page 3. It may be necessary to explain in more detail this second part of the questionnaire as some students may not be familiar with the Likert-type inventory design.
4. When a student is given the questionnaire, he/she may take as long as necessary to complete it. Most likely, questionnaires will be completed in dorm rooms or at home during a student's spare time. This is completely acceptable. My only caution is that each student be urged to complete the questionnaire alone without any help from his peers.
5. In order that students may be assured of confidentiality, I have not requested their names. When a student completes the questionnaire he is instructed to seal it in the blank envelope attached to the last page of the questionnaire before returning it to you. Perhaps you could keep count by having a list of students and checking off names as they return their envelopes to you.
6. Questionnaires may be completed either with pen or pencil. If a student makes a mistake he can simply cross out one response and circle another.
7. In a research project such as this which will employ the methods of statistical analysis, it is very crucial to have a high percentage of returns. I am aware, however, that all students may just not have the time or desire to complete the questionnaire. In order to eventually determine if my data is valid I will have to know the reasons for most non-returns. Therefore, I have asked students not wishing to participate to briefly write their reasons on the front page of the questionnaire and to return it to you in the questionnaire envelope.

8. If you are unable to distribute all your questionnaires, would you kindly explain why on each uncompleted questionnaire. For example, "student refuses to accept questionnaire," "student home sick," "student says he doesn't have the time," "I just haven't been able to locate this particular student," etc. Return these undistributed questionnaires to me.
9. When all questionnaires have been returned to you, please forward them to me in the enclosed stamped envelope.
10. Please return the questionnaires to me by the date your school closes for summer vacation.

THANK YOU AGAIN FOR YOUR TREMENDOUS HELP TO ME WITH THIS PROJECT.

If you need any additional information call me collect at 413-498-2485.

APPENDIX E

CODING PROCEDURES FOR STUDENT QUESTIONNAIRES

IBM ColumnsCode

1	Type of school	1 Coed boarding school
		2 Boys' boarding school
		3 Girls' boarding school
		4 Coed day school
		5 Boys' day school
		6 Girls' day school
2-3	School ID #	01 In order that they may
		02 remain anonymous, school
		03 names have not been
		04 included in this appendix.
		05
		06
		07
		08
		09
		10
		11
		12
		13
		14
		15
	Boys' boarding	16
		17
		18
		19
		20
		21
		22
	Girls' boarding	23
		24
		25
		26
	Coed day	27
		28
		29
	Boys' day	30
		31
		32
		33
	Girls' day	34
		35
		36

<u>IBM Columns</u>		<u>Code</u>
4-5	Student # in each school	01-99
6-7-8	Subject ID #	001-396
9	Blank	
10	Sex of subject	1=Male 2=Female 9=Missing information
11	Age of subject	1=Under 14 2=14 years old 3=15 years old 4=16 years old 5=17 years old 6=18 years old 7=19 years old 8=Over 19 years old 9=Missing information
12	Grade of subject	1=9th grade 2=10th grade 3=11th grade 4=12th grade 5=Post graduate 9=Missing information
13	Number of years in present school	1=1st year 2=2nd year 3=3rd year 4=4th year 5=5th year 6=More than five years 9=Missing information
14	Boarding or non-boarding student	1=Boarding student 2=Day student 9=Missing information
15	Grade average	1=Mostly A's 2=Mostly A's and B's 3=Mostly B's 4=Mostly B's and C's 5=Mostly C's 6=Mostly C's and D's 7=Mostly D's 8=Mostly D's and F's 9=Missing information

IBM ColumnsCode

16	Home community-- Location	1=Northeast 2=Southeast 3=Middle West 4=Southwest 5=West 6=West Indies 7=Outside United States or West Indies 9=Missing information
17	Home community-- Type	1=Urban 2=Rural 3=Suburban 9=Missing information
18	Citizenship	1=American 2=Other 9=Missing information
19	Racial composition of previous school	1=all or nearly all black 2=majority black 3=about half black, half white 4=majority white 5=nearly all white 6=never attended another school 9=missing information
20	Financial aid	1=none 2=1-25% 3=26-50% 4=51-75% 5=76-100% 6=yes, but no amount given 9=missing information
21	ABC program	1=ABC program participant 2=Non ABC program participant 9=Missing information
22	LAAS Item #1 Questionnaire #14	For the following items the same code applies:
23	LAAS Item #2* Questionnaire #15	1=Strongly agree 2=Agree 3=Undecided 4=Disagree 5=Strongly disagree
24	LAAS Item #3 Questionnaire #16	

IBM ColumnsCode

25	LAAS item #4 Questionnaire #17	1=Strongly agree 2=Agree 3=Undecided 4=Disagree 5=Strongly disagree
26	LAAS item #5 Questionnaire #18	
27	LAAS item #6* Questionnaire #19	
28	LAAS item #7 Questionnaire #20	
29	LAAS item #8 Questionnaire #21	
30	LAAS item #9* Questionnaire #22	
31	LAAS item #10 Questionnaire #23	
32	LAAS item #11* Questionnaire #24	
33	LAAS item #12 Questionnaire #25	
34	LAAS item #13 Questionnaire #26	
35	LAAS item #14 Questionnaire #27	
36	LAAS item #15* Questionnaire #28	
37	LAAS item #16* Questionnaire #29	
38	LAAS item #17 Questionnaire #30	
39	LAAS item #18* Questionnaire #31	
40	LAAS item #19 Questionnaire #32	

<u>IBM Columns</u>		<u>Code</u>
41	LAAS item #20* Questionnaire #33	1=Strongly agree 2=Agree
42	LAAS item #21 Questionnaire #34	3=Undecided 4=Disagree 5=Strongly disagree
43	LAAS item #22* Questionnaire #35	
44	LAAS item #23* Questionnaire #36	
45	LAAS item #24 Questionnaire #37	
46	LAAS item #25* Questionnaire #38	
47	LAAS item #26 Questionnaire #39	
48	LAAS item #27* Questionnaire #40	
49	LAAS item #28* Questionnaire #41	
50	LAAS item #29 Questionnaire #42	
51	LAAS item #30* Questionnaire #43	

*Because these items are positively stated on the LAAS, the computer will be programmed to reverse their values (1=5, 2=4, 3=3, 4=2, 5=1) before computing the total LAAS score. It is necessary to do this in order that a high score will represent positive perception of school environment.

APPENDIX F

CODING PROCEDURES FOR SCHOOL QUESTIONNAIRES

CODE BOOK - School Questionnaire

<u>IBM Columns</u>		<u>Code</u>
1-2	School ID #	See student questionnaire code
3	Blank	
4	Type of school	1 Coed boarding school 2 Boys' boarding school 3 Girls' boarding school 4 Coed day school 5 Boys' day school 6 Girls' day school
5	Blank	
6	Size of school (enrollment)	1 200 or less 2 201-400 3 401-600 4 Over 600
7	Blank	
8	% of total student enrollment that is black	1 Under 2% 2 2%-3.9% 3 4%-5.9% 4 6%-7.9% 5 8%-10% 6 Over 10%
9	Blank	
10	Black teachers	1 No black teachers 2 One or more part-time black teachers 3 One or more full-time black teachers 9 Missing information
11	Blank	
12	Black community	1 In same town 2 Not in same town but less than 10 miles from school 3 Between 10 and 25 miles from school 4 More than 25 miles from school
13	Blank	

IBM ColumnsCode

14	Degree of structure	1 Low 2 Medium 3 High 9 Missing information
15	Blank	
16-17-18- 19-20	School mean LAAS score (F5.1)	

APPENDIX G

PROCEDURES FOR DETERMINING SCHOOL
DEGREE OF STRUCTURE

PROCEDURE FOR DETERMINING DEGREE OF STRUCTURE IN A SCHOOL

The researcher rated answers to questions on the school questionnaire on a scale of 1 to 5, with 1 indicating low structure increasing to 5 for very high structure. The questions used are the following together with the rating values assigned to each response:

1. What is your school policy regarding class attendance?
 1. All students are allowed an unlimited number of class cuts. (value-1)
 2. Upperclassmen are allowed an unlimited number of class cuts; underclassmen are not allowed cuts. (value-2)
 3. All students are allowed a specified number of class cuts. (value-3)
 4. Upperclassmen are allowed a specified number of class cuts; underclassmen are required to attend all classes. (value-4)
 5. All students are required to attend all classes. (value-5)
2. Does your school have required religious chapel services?
 1. No. (value-1)
 2. Yes, for underclassmen but not for upperclassmen. (value-3)
 3. Yes, for all students with less than three such chapels per week. (value-4)
 4. Yes, for all students with three or more such chapels per week. (value-5)
3. Does your school have required all school meetings or assembly programs?
 1. No. (value-1)
 2. Yes, for underclassmen but not for upperclassmen. (value-3)
 3. Yes, for all students with less than three such meetings per week. (value-4)
 4. Yes, for all students with three or more such meetings per week. (value-5)
4. Are physically able students required to participate in inter-scholastic athletic competition at any time during their stay at your school?
 1. No. (value-1)
 2. Yes, for boys but not for girls. (value-3)
 3. Yes, for both girls and boys. (value-5)

5. Are students required to support school teams by attendance at athletic contests?
 1. No. (value-1)
 2. Yes, for the major games. (value-4)
 3. Yes, for all games. (value-5)
6. Are students required to participate in extra-curricular activities?
 1. No. (value-1)
 2. Yes. (value-5)
7. Are students required to participate in a school work program?
 1. No. (value-1)
 2. Yes, scholarship students only. (value-4)
 3. Yes, all students. (value-5)
8. What is your school grading policy?
 1. No grades. (value-1)
 2. Teacher comments rather than letter or numerical grades. (value-2)
 3. Pass/Fail system. (value-3)
 4. Letter grades. (value-4)
 5. Numerical grades. (value-5)
9. Does your school have an elective program?
 1. Yes, for all students. (value-1)
 2. Yes, for upperclassmen only. (value-3)
 3. No. (value-5)
10. May students do independent work, on or off campus, in place of regular classes?
 1. Yes, all students. (value-1)
 2. Yes, upperclassmen only. (value-3)
 3. No. (value-5)
11. Does your school have a dress code?
 1. No dress code. (value-1)
 2. Neatness and cleanliness are the only requirements in dress. (value-3)
 3. Dress-up required for meals. (value-4)
 4. An official school uniform is required. (value-5)
 5. Yes, coats and ties for boys, skirts or dresses for girls. (value-5)

12. Are students allowed to smoke cigarettes on campus?

1. Yes, without permission and anywhere. (value-1)
2. Yes, without permission and in certain areas. (value-2)
3. Yes, with parental permission and in certain designated areas. (value-3)
4. Never. (value-5)

13. Are students dismissed from school for use of illegal drugs?

1. Never. (value-1)
2. Rarely. (value-2)
3. Each case is treated individually and there are no standardized penalties. (value-3)
4. Often. (value-4)
5. Always. (value-5)

14. Do students address teachers by their first names?

1. Yes. (value-1)
2. A few teachers allow it. (value-3)
3. No. (value-5)

15. Who has the major responsibility for making rules governing student life (dress code, permissions, smoking, etc.)?

1. A student organization. (value-1)
2. A joint student-faculty governing body. (value-2)
3. The faculty. (value-3)
4. The administration. (value-4)
5. The trustees. (value-5)

16. Are students required to attend a study hall at any time during the school day?

1. No. (value-1)
2. Yes, only those in academic trouble. (value-3)
3. Yes, underclassmen only. (value-4)
4. Yes, all students. (value-5)

17. May students leave campus in their free time during the school day?

1. Yes, at will. (value-1)
2. Upperclassmen at will, others with special permission. (value-2)
3. Yes, all with special permission. (value-3)
4. Upperclassmen only with special permission. (value-4)
5. No. (value-5)

THE REMAINING QUESTIONS REFER TO BOARDING SCHOOLS ONLY

18. Are boys and girls allowed to visit each other in their dormitory rooms?

1. At will until bedtime. (value-1)
2. Upperclassmen only. (value-2)
3. For special occasions. (value-3)
4. Never. (value-5)

19. Do you have an evening lights out policy?

1. No. (value-1)
2. Yes, in policy but loosely adhered to in practice. (value-3)
3. Yes, for underclassmen only. (value-4)
4. Yes, for all students. (value-5)

20. How many weekend permissions may a student take per year?

1. Unlimited. (value-1)
2. Unlimited for upperclassmen, specific number for lower classes. (value-2)
3. 10-20. (value-3)
4. 5-10. (value-4)
5. Less than five. (value-5)

21. Are students required to attend meals?

1. No. (value-1)
2. One or more meals for underclassmen only. (value-2)
3. Yes, one of the three meals per day. (value-3)
4. Yes, all meals. (value-5)

22. Do you allow students of legal age to consume alcoholic beverages while under school jurisdiction?

1. Yes, anywhere. (value-1)
2. Yes, in dorm rooms. (value-2)
3. Yes, in faculty apartments and/or local taverns and restaurants. (value-3)
4. On special occasions. (value-4)
5. Never. (value-5)

Results

For day schools, the lowest possible score was 17, the highest 85.

1. The actual range of scores was 42 to 60.
2. The mean score for day schools was 50.5.

3. Based on the 19 point range of scores the day schools were divided into three groups as follows:
 - scores 42-47=low structure (4 schools)
 - scores 48-53=medium structure (3 schools)
 - scores 54-60=high structure (4 schools)

For boarding schools, the lowest possible score was 22, the highest 110.

1. The actual range of scores was 54 to 81.
2. The mean score for boarding schools was 67.8.
3. Based on the 28 point range of scores the boarding schools were divided into three groups as follows:
 - scores 54-62=low structure (6 schools)
 - scores 63-71=medium structure (10 schools)
 - scores 72-81=high structure (7 schools)

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